



JOSEPH ACKERBL.

TRAVELS
THROUGH
SWEDEN, FINLAND, AND LAPLAND,

FO THE
NORTH CAPE,
IN
THE YEARS 1798 AND 1799.

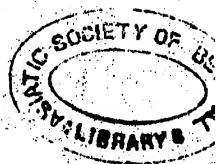
BY JOSEPH ACERBI.

Sic patet hic tandem, nobis ubi defuit orbis.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH SEVENTEEN ELEGANT ENGRAVINGS.

VOL. I.

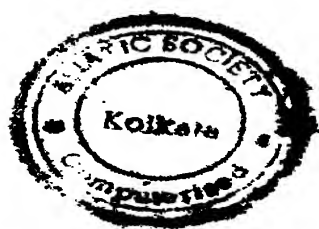


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DEDICATION

TO JAMES ACERBI.

MY DEAR FATHER,

IN looking around me for a name truly great to prefix to my work, my country offered many, distinguished for intelligence, for patriotism, and even for great achievements : but the feelings of a son prompted a different choice, and with emotions of gratitude and affection for the blessings of existence, education, and example, to you I dedicate the first fruits of your bounties. The name of a hero or statesman might flatter my vanity, but your's affords a more tender gratification. Your name has not been found in the annals of Europe—I congratulate you upon it. A great name is dangerous. Your private condition

condition presents more genuine pleasures ; retired on your estate, you promote and cherish the happiness of every heart around you ; and while you are occupied in the advancement of agriculture, that noblest art, that truest source of national wealth and best contributor to human felicity, you enjoy the contentment of a peaceful and virtuous life.

During my long absence, memory, faithful to her first impressions, has frequently recalled to me the pleasing scenes of my youth ; and often, amidst the noise of splendid entertainments, and surrounded by a brilliant crowd, I have heaved a sigh, and found myself a stranger and alone ! Distance has sharpened the recollection, and my anxious wishes have been involuntarily turned to your happy retreat.

It is a truth confirmed by every day's experience, in individuals as well as in societies, that they diminish their happiness in proportion to their departure from nature. My distant excursions, my long journeys, only
serve

serve to strengthen my desire of reposing under the shade of your trees, and in the bosom of domestic retirement.

Happy shall I be Sir, if in putting these volumes into your hands, I may in the smallest degree contribute to your amusement. I seek no other success, I ask no other reward, but to convince you, that the time which I have spent in travelling has not been wholly lost ; and, that in changing climates and countries, I have never swerved from the dutiful respect and tenderness with which I am, and shall ever be,

Your very affectionate Son,

JOSEPH ACERBI.

London, Feb. 1, 1802.

P R E F A C E.

IT may possibly excite curiosity to know, why a native of Italy, a country abounding in all the beauties of nature, and the finest productions of art, should voluntarily undergo the danger and fatigue of visiting the regions of the Arctic Circle.

He promised to himself, and he was not disappointed, much gratification from contrasting the wild grandeur and simplicity of the North, with the luxuriance, the smiling aspect, and the refinements of his own country. He was willing to exchange, for a time, the beauties of both nature and art, for the novelty, the sublimity, and the rude magnificence of the northern climates. Nor was it probable that such a contrasted scene would prove barren of instruction, or be destitute of amusement. There is no people so far advanced in civilization, or so highly cultivated, who may not be able to derive some advantage from being acquainted with the arts and sciences of other nations, even of such as are the most barbarous. The human understanding is benefited by
communication,

communication, even with ignorance itself; just as commerce and wealth derive profit from an intercourse with poverty. Every species of knowledge may be promoted by travelling into different countries: in all of them there will be found ample scope for observation and reflection, natural, moral, and political. It is only by a comprehensive and unconfined survey of nature, external and internal, by a growing accumulation of facts and conclusions, compared and combined with one another, that the empire of science is to be extended: and the most striking objects for such a combination and comparison, will probably be those which present themselves in a sudden transition from one extreme to the other; such as from the South to the North of Europe.

It was not without the utmost reluctance, that the Author yielded to the pressing solicitations of his friends to print this work. It is the first that he has offered to the public, and he is sensible that it would be in vain to court for it the indulgence of his readers, if he should fail of recommending himself by it to their esteem.

The first part of these Travels, written for the gratification of a small circle, who were curious to learn the present state of arts,

sciences, and manners in Sweden, contains an account of circumstances too bold, perhaps, to meet the public eye. But to have re-composed and softened it, by the suppression of some particulars, however personally prudent for the Author, would have been to withhold from the reader a just and accurate idea of the state of facts. It was incumbent upon him to sacrifice all inferior considerations to a respect for the public and for truth.

With regard to that portion of the volumes which relates to Finland and Lapland, the Author was for some time restrained from producing it to the Public, by a motive of delicacy. Colonel Skiöldebrand, a Swedish officer, the companion of his travels, had announced his design of publishing in Stockholm his drawings of picturesque scenery in those countries, accompanied with descriptions of the objects represented in his plates. The Author, therefore, suspended his own publication from a fear of injuring the interests of his friend. But, on observing that the announced work made its appearance only in numbers, that it will not be completed for some years, and what is most material, that any degree of success which might attend the present publication, must only serve to promote that of the other, all scruples of delicacy were removed.

Another motive for publishing this book was, a desire of being useful to future travellers, whom ardent curiosity might impel to visit the northern districts. Those parts of Europe, which are, I may say, almost abandoned by nature, are little known, and any information concerning them must of course be acceptable.

Fashion, which extends its influence over every thing, appears, in our day, to favour travels and expeditions to the North: and the prevalence of this may, perhaps, have been increased by the political troubles in the South of Europe. However this may be, such as travel to those quarters are entitled to a degree of regard and esteem which cannot justly be claimed by those who visit the South of Europe: for the hardy North does not by any means hold out the same luxuries, the same allurements of climate, and the same temptations to pleasure that are presented by a more genial and inviting soil. Journeys in the North will be undertaken by those only who have a just and masculine taste for nature, under every aspect, and are actuated by a desire of enlarging their own information, and of instructing others.

With this view the Author, having reached the North Cape by a route before considered as impracticable in summer, has published

lished a delineation of that excursion for the assistance of other travellers who may come after him. His accounts, whatever may be their defects, will be allowed to possess the merit of novelty. Even the faults with which they may possibly be charged, will not be without some advantage to others. His work, however imperfect, may serve to pave the way for one more complete and accurate. It is with travels, as with every other pursuit: men even of the most ordinary talents have often, by their humble efforts, given birth to exertions in others, which have been more happily directed, and more successful.

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THROUGH
S W E D E N.

TRAVELS

THROUGH

S W E D E N.

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PARTIALITY and inaccuracy are common objections made to travellers, and often diminish, or even annihilate, that approbation which otherwise might be bestowed upon their labours and exertions. The first of those charges is of a moral nature, and relates to a failing of the heart ; the second aims at a fault, which either proceeds from indolence or ignorance. But these articles of accusation, when exhibited, are not always founded upon truth : and, before a decisive opinion can be given, the credit of the person who accuses should be carefully balanced against the

character of him that stands impeached. Those who have travelled in the North, or described that part of Europe, have been peculiarly unfortunate in being exposed to attacks of this kind, and having their candour and diligence called in question. The accusation has, in general, been brought by natives, who, though we may allow them to be well acquainted with their own country, cannot be supposed to surpass others in the virtue of impartiality. They are certainly as liable to be biased in favour of what they call their own, as foreigners who come to visit them may be on the opposite side. It is by no means easy to divest ourselves of all prejudice and predilection for those places where we were born, and where we spent the earliest and happiest days of our existence: and this natural partiality should always be taken into the account, when the ascertaining of truth is our object. We may grant that a man possesses a perfect knowledge of the local situation, the government, manners and other particulars of his country: but nevertheless he may be prejudiced; and while he labours under this disadvantage, and is swayed by those narrow ideas, which are the almost inevitable consequence of a life entirely passed at home, he cannot claim unlimited confidence for his assertions. Thus, when a Swede smiles at Mr. Coxe's representing Warmerland as a most delightful country, beautifully interspersed and variegated with lakes, charming vales and well cultivated fields, we think him justified in differing from that gentleman's description; and admit that, on the contrary, it is a dreary and unpleasant tract, diversified only by naked rocks and barren hills. But
when

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When a native of the North represents that "you may travel as speedily in Russia and Sweden, as in France or England; and that on the whole you meet with as good accommodation at the inns in these cold regions as in any part of Italy, so much resorted to by strangers;" though I may entertain a great esteem for that person in other respects, yet I begin to suspect that he was never in any one of those countries which he uses for his comparison. The only point on which Sweden will bear being mentioned with England, is the roads. But there are no public vehicles, such as a stage-coach, mail, *diligence*, or other carriage, for the convenience of common travellers, who unite two principal objects in their journeys, viz. expedition and cheapness. There is no regular conveyance between the country and the capital; none, for example, between Gothenburg and Stockholm; Stockholm and Gefle; Gefle and Upsala, or the other principal towns of the provinces. The reason assigned by the Swedes, "that there is no need of stage-waggons and the like, for the transportation of merchandize, as the country is every where intersected by lakes and navigable rivers," is not a sufficient excuse for the want of public carriages to accommodate passengers. In France and Eng-
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When a native of the North represents that "you may travel as speedily in Russia and Sweden, as in France or England; and that on the whole you meet with as good accommodation at the inns in these cold regions as in any part of Italy, so much resorted to by strangers;" though I may entertain a great esteem for that person in other respects, yet I begin to suspect that he was never in any one of those countries which he uses for his comparison. The only point on which Sweden will bear being mentioned with England, is the roads. But there are no public vehicles, such as a stage-coach, mail, *diligence*, or other carriage, for the convenience of common travellers, who unite two principal objects in their journeys, viz. expedition and cheapness. There is no regular conveyance between the country and the capital; none, for example, between Gothenburg and Stockholm; Stockholm and Gefle; Gefle and Upsala, or the other principal towns of the provinces. The reason assigned by the Swedes, "that there is no need of stage-waggons and the like, for the transportation of merchandize, as the country is every where intersected by lakes and navigable rivers," is not a sufficient excuse for the want of public carriages to accommodate passengers. In France and Eng-
land

land stage-coaches are found in all directions, so that you may with ease travel to whatever quarter your inclination or business calls you. Even where there are navigable rivers and canals, these carriages abound at every hour of night and day. As to the comparison which the advocate of the North draws between the inns of Sweden and those of Italy, I shall not discuss its truth or falsehood, as I might be suspected of partiality for the latter, which is my native country. I shall only observe, that between Helsingburg and Stockholm, a distance of near four hundred miles,* nothing that can be considered as an inn is to be met with: whereas there is no part of Italy where, in the same space, you would not come to fifty towns, in neatness and elegance, and every comfort of life, equal if not superior even to the capital of Sweden; that in Italy, the South perhaps excepted, it is impossible to travel twenty miles without meeting with an inn, whilst there is not so much as one to be found in Stockholm itself; that a small village in Italy is better provided with all the necessaries and conveniences of life, than the most eminent provincial towns of Sweden: in short, I shall answer the Swedish author to whom I allude in his own words: "If any one wish to travel through Sweden with tolerable ease, he will do well to provide himself with a carriage, as well as with bread and wine, and other provisions," which precautions are certainly quite unnecessary in Italy.†

* Italian or English, which are nearly the same.

† The same Swedish writer says, "that if Don Quixote mistook all the inns he met with for castles, in Sweden he would have mistaken all the houses for inns." There is not any country however with which I am acquainted, where the houses have less the appearance of inns than in Sweden.

Further, a country in which you are obliged to lay aside your own carriage, and to substitute one which is smaller and less convenient, cannot be said to be well adapted to the purpose of travelling: yet this is the case in Sweden, where you must be prepared to encounter this and many other disagreeable circumstances.

The horses are small and weak, and their deficiency in size and strength is to be made up by increase of number. This multiplication is attended with a world of trouble. It is not in an instant that so many horses can be put to the carriage; the chance is increased that something or other will be wanting, something wrong or out of order in the harness; there is also more difficulty in bringing the horses to draw and keep pace with each other. All these impediments taken together, occasion a considerable loss of time. You are stopped at every turn, and the expedition of travelling in Sweden, compared with that of France and England, is found to be a mere fable. Among the seven or eight horses that you are obliged to use, you have always to apprehend that some one may turn out restive; and the bad example of one will spoil all the rest. I travelled from Helsingburg to Stockholm, by the way of Gothenburg, together with one of my countrymen in a *viennoise*; but instead of three horses, as in Germany, we were forced to increase our number, till it amounted to seven. The horses were put to the carriage four a-breast in the first line, and three in the second. They were so little, lean, and feeble, that it seemed as if our vehicle were

drawn.

drawn by so many sheep. The more we increased their number, the slower was our progress on the journey. It was the month of September, and the roads, which were always either up-hill or down hill, began to be injured by the rains. In going down hill, we were afraid of causing death and destruction among our poor feeble animals, which were impelled, without power of resistance, by the weight of the carriage, and neither able to stop nor to retard its motion: and when we went up hill, we often were at a stand when it would have been most desirable to go forward. The horses, as I have said, did not draw together. We were attended by five or six peasants, who had each of them a horse in our caravan; and deeming it good policy to whip up their neighbour's horses while they spared their own, they fell often a quarrelling, and sometimes dealt about blows among themselves as well as among each other's horses. Such a Babylonish confusion is not, I believe, to be met with in any other part of the world. This at least I know, that I never encountered any thing so embarrassing in any other country. One may travel very comfortably in Sweden, they tell you, with the aid of a man who knows how to manage and drive the horses; but where is there a person in the world capable of conducting these animals? They understand only the Swedish sounds; and the dialect in which they are addressed by the peasants, is so original, and consists in so extraordinary a motion or vibration of the lips,*

* *Tpíchrúú*. It is exactly by the same sound that the country people in Scotland address their horses when they want them to stop.

that it is impossible any foreign charioteer should be able to acquire it in a shorter space of time than several weeks, or perhaps months. The same sound that is used in Italy to quicken the horses' pace, is employed in Sweden for the purpose of making them halt: and it often happened that, when we were ascending some steep hill, we uttered that or a similar sound, to encourage the horses; when, to our great disappointment, they stopped short instantaneously. We then had to blame ourselves for forgetting the idiom of the Swedish language, and patiently to endure the consequence of our mistake; while the peasants seemed astonished at our rashness or folly in checking the exertion of the horses on the side of a steep mountain, where the weight of the carriage might force the animals backwards, and involve us in great danger. At the same time, when we reflected on the unfortunate power of habit and its effects, in the present instance, we could not help laughing even in the midst of peril.

Another subject of commendation among the panegyrists of Swedish travelling, but equally unfounded with that of their praises of expedition, is cheapness. If they were to calculate the expence of a courier, whom you must send before you on the road to bespeak horses, if they would consider the greater number of horses to be employed on a journey in Sweden than in one in Germany, moreover the hire of a driver from Copenhagen, and the expences of his return home, besides the compensation to be made to the peasants for waiting with their horses for the arrival of their employer; were they to take all these things into the

account, they would find that travelling in Sweden with one's own equipage, not to mention the circumstance of its extreme inconvenience, is, on the whole, more expensive than in any other country of Europe, except perhaps in England. The countries in which I have found it easiest to travel, that is, where convenience is most happily united with cheapness, are Austria and Bohemia, particularly the latter. I am not conscious of any tendency to either ill-humour or prejudice: I only declare matters of fact that have come under my own observation, and under that of many other travellers. If some have travelled in Sweden with greater advantages than myself, I can only say that they have been more fortunate: but I must still maintain, that those impediments which I have described, are extremely disagreeable, and not to be met with in any other part of Europe.

Another comfort for travellers, much boasted of by the natives, and represented as peculiar only to their country, is, that at every post house a register is put into your hands, under the denomination of a day-book, in which travellers set down their names, their state or condition of life, whence they came, and whither they are going; and if they have been satisfied or otherwise with the postilion, or rather the peasant. But it is, in my opinion, rather to be considered as an inconvenience: for it is, in fact, a mere formality, that occasions a waste of time without remedying any one of the evils that may be recorded and complained of. When a traveller sets out on a journey through Sweden, under the erroneous notion of its being a wild and barbarous country,

country, buried under everlasting snow and ice, without inns, post-horses, or roads, he may be surprized to meet with many public regulations and establishments which he did not expect; but when, on the other hand, he suffers himself to be imposed on by the groundless supposition of finding in that country such accommodations as in France or England, he will be miserably disappointed. It would not be very wide of the mark to say, that the truth lies, as usual, between the two extremes, but inclining rather to the side which is unfavourable.

In order to make the journey from Helsingburg to Stockholm more interesting, you should take the route of Gothenburg and Trolhätta. Before you come to Gothenburg, you pass through Warberg, a small village with a fortress, situated on the edge of the sea. Here the Swedish government confined the famous General Peckling, suspected of being an accomplice in the murder of Gustavus III. This man was of the party in opposition to the king in 1756, being at that time in the pay of Russia. In 1762, when he had become a pensioner of France, he was on the side of the court. In 1772, when having the rank of colonel in the army, he betrayed an intention to excite his regiment to mutiny; but he was arrested at Enköping, conducted to Stockholm,* and after the death of Gustavus, shut up in the

* According to the author of the *Life of Catharine II.* and the *Travels of Two Frenchmen*, he was taken to Gripsholm, and confined in the castle, which served formerly as a prison for Eric XIV. This however is a mistake. The castle of Gripsholm is at present utterly uninhabitable, having neither roof nor casements.

fortress of Warberg. During his confinement at this place, as he had not been convicted of any crime, though suspected, he was in the full enjoyment of all his wealth and income : and, whether from malignity, rage, or madness, he one day formed a resolution to execute a stratagem for raising a famine in the little town of Warberg. He gave orders early in the morning for buying up all the provisions in the market-place, and bringing them forthwith to him. It was a matter of satisfaction and pleasure to him, to think that all the inhabitants of the town would be pinched with hunger, while he himself possessed the utmost abundance ; and that in this manner, the besiegers being reduced to famine by the besieged, the usual operations of warfare would be completely reversed. This act of extravagance was not more afflicting to the citizens of Warberg, than it was acceptable to the officers and soldiers of the garrison, and the prisoners confined besides himself in the castle. This anecdote, which is in perfect conformity with the character of Peckling, who united with excellent talents a considerable share of eccentricity, though told by every body at Warberg, I have not seen in any public prints, or books of travels. General Peckling had a great reputation for eloquence and political acquirements, and above all, for an intimate acquaintance with the laws of his country. By means of his legal knowledge, he always escaped with safety from the various law-suits in which he was involved. He was wont to amuse himself with teasing and making game of his judges, who were often confounded by his subtleties and legal sophistry.

fopistry. The court-martial by which he was tried in 1772, after a confinement of more than four months at Stockholm, was held under the direction of General Horn, who had been created a Count after the revolution in 1772, more from his zeal, it is said, than on account of any real service. This nobleman, being a near relation to Baron Peckling, seemed to fear nothing so much as to be thought partial to his kinsman. As the charge laid against him was no less than rebellion and high treason, it was very difficult to find a lawyer who would undertake his defence ; till, at last, a young man, of the name of Blix, generously offered his services. The court-martial being at a loss how, on any plausible grounds, to find the General guilty, but yet not daring to acquit him before they knew the intentions of the King, who was then at Elköfund, at the distance of near fifty miles from the capital, they adjourned till they should receive farther instruction. But as it was contrary to the privileges of the Swedish nobility, that any of their members should be kept in prison without being fully convicted of a crime, the General's counsel asked the Court if they had any other rules for their proceedings than the laws of their country ? They answered they had none. Yet Baron Peckling was not set at liberty, but in consequence of a petition to the King. So sudden and deplorable was the effect produced by the revolution on the high-spirited nobility of Sweden.

Gothenburg is the second city of the kingdom. Its environs are almost every where naked, barren, and dreary. They present

an uniform scene of small eminences of black rock, where nature cannot by any power of art be forced to produce vegetation. The harbour exhibits a similar confusion of rocks not more pleasing to the eye, and some little craggy isles of a rugged and forbidding aspect. As to the interior of the town, it resembles in some respects the towns of Holland, having canals, with rows of trees along their margins, regularly cut or clipped in the Dutch fashion. The inhabitants of this place are in a state of constant emulation with those of the capital, in commerce as well as in their mode of life, their fashions, and every species of luxury. I have been assured by several persons that one may live more agreeably at Gothenburg than at Stockholm. To a stranger who delights in society, it certainly affords opportunities of following his inclination without formality or restraint. The ladies of Gothenburg are celebrated for their amiable dispositions, their beauty, their sociability, and their accomplishments. They employ much of their time in the cultivation of languages and the arts, particularly that of music. They possess in a very high degree all the qualifications that form an amiable, accomplished, and interesting woman. The population of this town is about fifteen thousand. The suburbs are situated on rising ground, and are occupied principally by seafaring people belonging to merchantmen, the East India Company, and several ships of war stationed in the harbour. There is an hospital at Gothenburg, founded by an individual, Mr. Sahlgren, the annual revenue of which amounts to fifteen hundred rix dollars. It contains thirty beds, of which

two are appropriated for the delivery of pregnant women : but when occasion requires, a greater number is allotted for this benevolent purpose, sometimes as many as seven. Any woman, whoever she may be, when her time approaches, on ringing a bell at any hour during day or night, is instantly admitted *gratis*, and without being asked any questions. They also receive foundling children, and at times maintain no less than forty or fifty of them. The commerce of Gothenburg is very considerable, and comprehends perhaps more than the seventh part of the exports, and about a fourth of the imports of the whole kingdom. The East India Company, in which the city of Antwerp and the town of Ostend have a large share, sends from one to two or three ships annually to China. Though their charter empowers them to trade with India, it is but rarely, and to no considerable extent, that they avail themselves of that privilege. The number of trading vessels belonging to Gothenburg is about two hundred and fifty. About eight hundred foreign ships enter the harbour annually, and about five hundred Swedish. One of the principal sources of prosperity to Gothenburg is the herring fishery. Six hundred thousand barrels of salted herrings have been known to be sold in one year, and thirty thousand barrels of oil. To one barrel of oil there is reckoned a proportion of ten or twelve barrels of herrings. Every such barrel contains from a thousand to fourteen hundred herrings. The fishing begins in October, and lasts till February, and sometimes till March. The herrings are partly consumed

fumed in the country itself, and partly exported to the Baltic and the Mediterranean.

When a person is invited to dinner at Gothenburg, it is understood that he is to pass with his host the whole of the evening, and to conclude a pretty constant scene of eating and drinking by a plentiful supper. This is a practice common throughout all Sweden, Stockholm not excepted: but at the same time it is to be observed, that it does not now prevail in the houses of the first order, but is limited to those of the second and inferior ranks. I am told that the case is very much the same in the principal towns in England and Scotland, including the city and mercantile part of London. It is the custom in Sweden, as in other protestant countries where religious zeal is rather fervent, for every one at table to say a short prayer to himself, both before and after the meal. When dinner is over, the guests return thanks to the master of the house for his good cheer; and he, on the other hand, assures his visitors that they are heartily welcome. All this is done with so serious and solemn an air, that a stranger, if he did not recollect himself, might be tempted to laugh at this extraordinary ceremony. This manner, however, of returning thanks on the part of the guests, and the assurance of their being welcome on that of the master of the house, formerly appears to have been common throughout Great Britain, for traces of it still remain in the provinces among the lower classes of the people; whose fashions, customs, and modes of life, as well as opinions, have

have all of them, at some period or other, been those also of the higher orders of society. At great and formal dinners in Sweden, it is usual to drink* healths out of large silver cups filled with rhenish or champaign. The cup goes round, and every one tastes of it, similar to the old custom of *pledging*,* still practised at some English corporation-feasts. There are certain rules to be observed, with which the guests are previously made acquainted. If these be not duly attended to, the delinquent, by way of punishment, is obliged to drink off a whole cup.

It has been very generally remarked, and I believe justly, that the apothecaries of Gothenburg are not so ignorant as the same class of men in Paris, Amsterdam, and many other great cities. Men's presumption and disregard to consequences being always in proportion to the narrowness of their education and understanding; we may justly fear that dreadful havoc is made, by these triers of experiments, among the blind and credulous multitude. At Gothenburg the apothecaries have the advantage of a liberal education; so that if the inhabitants have the same propensity as those of other places, to fly to these underlings of the medical art rather than to a physician, they may indulge it at least with less danger.

* This custom is obviously derived from the security found necessary to be given in Gothic ages, that an individual should not be stabbed while he was taking his draught.

TRAVELS

CHAPTER II.

Journey from Gothenburg to Stockholm—Trolhätta: the Cataracts, and the Canal, which is a most extraordinary Work—Some general Remarks occasioned by this Canal—Book of Inscriptions kept at Trolhätta—Face of the Country between Trolhätta and Stockholm—Agriculture in that District, and its Produce—Mode of bedding the Horses—Fithia, the last Stage before you come to Stockholm: Anecdote—Arrival at Stockholm: Want of Inns—Character of Mr. Malmgren; his Attention to Strangers.

THE journey from Gothenburg to Trolhätta, a distance of about fifty miles, is often made by the Gothenburghers in the summer season as a jaunt of pleasure. Going out of the town you proceed along the banks of the river Götha, from which Gothenburg derives its name. After advancing about three miles, you leave behind you, on the right bank of the river, the small fortress of Bohus, situated on the summit of a rock. The remainder of the road to Trolhätta is partly level and good, in some places hilly and unpleasant; and part of it lies across roundish and slippery rocks. There is only one place where one can be comfortably lodged: this is Eded, about thirty miles from Gothenburg, on the side of the Götha. It is astonishing that on a spot

a spot so much frequented as Trolhätta, both by foreigners and Swedes, there should not be better accommodations; and that it never occurred to any one, as a good speculation, to set up a new inn. In the one that now exists there are but four apartments: when these are occupied, there is no other house where a traveller can be decently lodged. Trolhätta is a place where the admirers of natural beauties, if they could be tolerably accommodated, would be tempted to stop for several days; as it is scarcely possible in less time to have any satisfactory view of the famous cataracts, and the canal, which is one of the boldest and most amazing works of the kind in the world. The cataracts are a series of cascades, formed by the river Götha, which issues from the lake of Wennern, and being united after many breaks, falls in its whole and undivided stream from a height of upwards of sixty feet, into an unfathomable abyss of water.

The canal of Trolhätta has been wrought through the midst of rocks by the means of gunpowder. Its object was to open a communication between the North Sea and the lake of Wennern, by continuing the navigation where the Götha, dashing down in cataracts, ceases to be navigable. All the bar-iron of Nericia, Warmerland, and other provinces, is transported in small boats across the lake of Wennern, and along the Götha, as far as the falls. By means of the new canal, the water carriage is prolonged beyond the cataracts to where the Götha becomes again navigable; and from thence the goods are easily conveyed on the river to Gothenburg. The obvious importance of such a cut had long

attracted the attention of the Swedish government, and they employed immense sums, at different times, during almost a whole century, for the execution of it; notwithstanding, this vast enterprise proceeded so slowly, and with so little effect, that it seemed to mock every human effort of strength or skill. Its actual accomplishment was reserved to teach a very important lesson to governments, and all great bodies of men, that though any undertaking should languish and fail under their direction, yet it may be quickened, and may succeed, when it becomes the interest of individuals not to embezzle the general stock, when their fortune depends on their entering minutely into all the details of labour and expence, and on bringing the work as speedily as possible to a just and happy conclusion. An association was formed of Gothenburg merchants and others, a joint stock was raised, the privilege of a toll on a future canal was granted and secured by government; shares in the eventual produce were sold at higher and higher prices as the work advanced, and in the course of five or six years the canal was completed. The length of this canal, on which there are nine locks, is nearly three miles; the width thirty-six feet; the depth in some places above fifty. Basins are formed at convenient distances for various purposes, which it is unnecessary to enumerate. It is not easy for any one to form an idea of the difficulties that were to be surmounted in the formation of this wonderful canal, unless he had been an eye-witness. The spectator now views the smooth level as if it had been so always, and loses sight of the heights and rugged substances through

through which it was necessary to penetrate before that level could be effected. I saw the canal not only when it was accomplished, but in its laborious progress toward completion. This canal, which was undertaken and begun by Charles XII. formed part of a grand plan meditated by Gustavus Vasa, and attempted by some of his successors, for joining the Baltic with the North Sea by means of a communication cut through the kingdom. If ever a canal should be extended from the lake of Wennern, which is the largest in Sweden, being about five hundred miles long and seventy-five broad, by Orebro to the lake of Hielmar, the Swedes may then, by a conjunction of this lake with that of Mälär, through the sluices of Arboga, transport all kinds of merchandize in the same vessel from Gothenburg to Stockholm. Thus a passage would be opened between the North Sea and the Baltic, and, among other advantages, the duties of the Sound would be avoided. The canal of Trolhätta may justly be considered as in some respects characteristical of the Swedish nation; for it represents them as they are, prone to the conception of grand enterprises, and distinguished by mechanical invention. As a work of art, and of bold and persevering design, it is not too much to say, that it is the first in the world, even the Duke of Bridgewater's canal in England, and that of Languedoc in France, not excepted.

There is nothing that communicates to the mind a greater idea of human skill, than the means that have been discovered for conveying things from one place to another. The watery element, apparently

apparently destined to cut off all communication between countries, through the exertion and ingenuity of man, is converted into a vast and unbounded medium of their intercourse. I do not recollect any thing that exhibits so sensible and striking a triumph of art over nature, except perhaps the ascent of the balloon into the atmosphere: though this indeed is to be ranked among discoveries rather than inventions; and has not by any means given birth to such a variety of ingenious contrivances as have been displayed in the application of the polarity of the magnet, and of lunar observations; in the extension of canals by the perforation of hills; in the erection of bridges, waterlocks, and sluices; and in the construction, *equipage*, and navigation of ships.

The first ideas, or the first elements as it were, of navigation, are presented to man in his primitive, rude, and simple state. Without entering into the question, whether man is or was originally an amphibious animal, as has been maintained by one or two whimsical writers, we find that the uncivilized tribes are the most expert swimmers and divers. They live much in the water and on the water in quest of fishes, in rivers, lakes, and inlets of the sea. A tree or log, torn from the margin of some wood by the violence of a torrent or a storm, and floating near them on the surface of the water, presents itself as a kind of resting place, where the exertions of the limbs and arms may be suspended. If trees or beams can bear up a man in the water, it occurs at once that they will also bear up other things. They are immediately used for this purpose. The first boats accordingly, as we find

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from the history of all savages, are trees excavated either by iron, or, previously to the use of iron, by the operation of fire. As the elements of navigation are simple and obvious, and as this is an art intimately connected with the pursuits of men in all stages of society, both in war and peace, so we find that the extension and improvement of navigation has at all times been a favourite object with the greatest princes and the most flourishing and adventurous republics. Thus we know that Charlemagne formed a design of uniting by means of a canal the Rhine and Danube; and Peter the first of Russia projected a junction between the Don and Wolga, the execution of which was a favourite topic with Catharine II. though she had not the good fortune to see it accomplished. It is reserved only for such a successor as may equal that princess in extent of conception and spirit of enterprise.

The greater part of states and princes act mostly from transient interests, which they generally pursue with cabal and intrigue, varying their designs and expedients according to times and circumstances, and therefore seldom producing a great effect. In proportion as they are lofty in their ambition and comprehensive in their views, they overlook present difficulties and present advantages, in the prospect of permanent power and future glory. Thus the Romans, undoubtedly the greatest people with whom we are at all acquainted, being extensive in their plans, were steady in their conduct. Like the laws of nature, they acted incessantly in all seasons and all circumstances. The Roman works, aqueducts, roads, walls, amphitheatres, and other structures, were so transcendentally

transcendantly great, that when the historical accounts of them were lost in the dark ages, an opinion prevailed that they had been executed by supernatural and invisible agents. The kings of Sweden, carrying back their views through a long line of ancestry to a remote antiquity, and forward through proportionable spaces of time, were naturally inspired with grand recollections and grand designs. Should an age of darkness again envelop Scandinavia, and bring back the reign of ignorance and superstition, the works of Trolhätta, like those of the Romans, would doubtless be ascribed to giants, fairies, or gods.

At Trolhätta a book is presented to strangers when they are about to leave the place ; and they are requested to inscribe their names in it, with some motto relative to the impression made on their minds by the falls, or other local circumstances. This book is one of the most curious miscellanies any where to be seen, and is in my mind of more value than many other books, for the light it throws on the subject of human nature. Throughout the whole of this collection there reigns a particular humour ; I mean a particular turn or temperament of mind, and what the French call *penchant* ; an affectation of wit and singularity, and above all, an effort of self-love, or self-consequence, which unveils, not obscurely, the true character and weakness of man. Like those epitaphs which lose sight of the dead to speak of the living, almost all the inscriptions in this, as well as in other memorials of the same kind, are more characteristic of their authors than of the subjects to which they refer. One takes an opportunity to shew that

that he can make verses ; a second, gives some account of his travels ; a third, exalts his own opinion on the ruin of that of others ; a fourth, sets down his name merely for the purpose of displaying his title ; while another, from a vanity of an opposite nature, writes his name simply and nothing more. There is one Englishman who tells you, that he went to see the cataracts by candle-light : another traveller of the same nation says, that neither the cataract nor the labour by which the canal was accomplished, is good for any thing ; that the Swedes are all slaves, crouching under the lash of their masters ; and, in order to express his contempt, subscribes these remarks by a very indecent name. A third Englishman, more enlightened as well as candid, rejoices to see gunpowder applied to better purposes than those of war, though at the same time he is not of opinion that the condition of the people is bettered by commerce.* The French emigrants recount all their own misfortunes, and as well suited to the subject of Trolhätta, those also of the King of France. One emigrant produces a long invective against the patriots. An Englishman writes nothing more than “ What will you have us say ? ” The following, “ Dieu benisse cette bonne et brave nation ! † is signed Kosciusko. An immense number of pedants make flourishes of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic. In a word, the writers

* The words of this Englishman are—“ It is pleasing to see gunpowder used in favour of society, although we do not think that commerce will improve the happiness of the people.”

† God bless this good and brave nation.

of inscriptions at Trölhätta, become sometimes so digressive from their subject, that travellers are found mutually reviling, and making personal allusions to one another. At last the poor book itself was rudely attacked by the malignity of certain splenetic persons, who were not satisfied with making many peevish comments, but even went the length of mutilating it, by tearing out some of its leaves. On my return through that place in 1800, the inscription I had left in 1799 was not to be found. The reason why it had been implicated in the same fate with others, and torn out, I am wholly at a loss to imagine. I do not recollect the very words, but I am certain that there was nothing in the sentiments that could be just matter of offence to any body. What I said was to this effect: that the cataracts and works at Trölhätta were objects which abundantly compensated to two Italian travellers the want of any thing curious in the southern parts of Sweden, and which could make them forget the beauties of their native country. I replaced my inscription with the addition of the following beautiful lines by the Abbé Delille:—

Que ne peut point de l'art l'activité féconde!
C'est par elle que l'homme est souverain du monde,
De la nature en vain tu crois naître le roi,
Mortel ! sans le travail rien n'existe pour toi.
Ce globe n'est soumis à ta vaste puissance,
Qu' à titre des conquêts, et non pas de naissance,

Et

Et tu n'es distingué parmis les animaux

Que par ton noble orgueil, ton génie, et tes maux.*

Leaving Trolhätta, we proceeded to Stockholm by Wexlerland, Nericia, Sudermania, and the government of Stockholm. Though the country in the near vicinity of Gothenburg be bleak and barren, it improves greatly as you recede from that town and the sea coast, and advance north-east towards the capital. Woods, water, rocks, hills tufted with trees, vales and cultivated fields, give it not a very rich but a pleasing aspect. The woods, which become fine and thick on each side of the road, are sometimes so extensive as to stretch out their limits beyond the eye of the traveller. They consist chiefly of oak, birch, mountain-ash, and firs; all of them tall but slender, which perhaps is owing to the scanty soil in which they grow. The cattle are small, and their fleeces hang down like the hair of goats. The horses I have already described. But I ought to add, that when tolerably well fed, they are very active.

On the subject of horses I must farther observe, that when we came to Strömsholm, a small palace belonging to the King, on the lake of Mälär, we went to see the royal stables that were

* What may not be performed by the fertility of art? It is by her means that man has become lord of the world. It is a vain thing to fancy that he derives this title of sovereignty from nature—Mortal! there is nothing thine, that does not become so through labour. This globe is not subjected to the vast extent of thy power by birth-right, but by that of conquest—thou art only distinguished from other animals by a noble pride, by thy genius, and by thy miseries!

highly spoken of, though they would be reckoned but very middling, or rather mean, in several other countries. I was surprized to find that there was no straw or other bedding for the horses. The animals stand or lie on perforated boards, like soldiers in barracks. This practice I found to be universal throughout all Scandinavia. It occurred to me that it might have had its origin in the economy of saving straw for the cattle in a country where winter provender is so much wanted: and, perhaps, this may be really the case; though even in Denmark, where straw and other provender are abundant, the same practice is followed. It has been approved by the Veterinary Colleges of both Stockholm and Copenhagen, and universally adopted by the royal and other great families, on account of its salutary effect on the foot of the horse. In countries where the horses stand in a hot-bed produced by their own litter, their feet become tender and subject to divers disorders; but you very seldom see a lame or foundered horse in Sweden or Denmark, which, if it is not to be ascribed to the skill of the licensed farriers, who are (at least in the Danish dominions) all brought up in the Veterinary College, may, to a certain degree, be owing to the manner of keeping the horse on boards instead of straw. In most countries wood is dear and scarce: but if any other substitute could be found for straw in the bedding of horses, the reduction it would bring about in the price of hay and corn must be very great. It is well known that, in many places, straw is the only food that is afforded during the winter months, for cattle and even horses.

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The Danish and Swedish mode of lodging the horses has, I have been informed, so far attracted the notice of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, who keeps a steady eye on whatever may contribute to the improvement of the army, that he has given orders for the erection of some barracks on that plan, by way of experiment. The result will be of great importance, if this bedding on boards, if I may say so, shall be found to preserve the foot of the horse, even though its expensiveness should prevent its general adoption.

The grain in the country from Gothenburgh to Stockholm, and I was informed throughout almost all Sweden, is rye, oats, peas, beans, and some barley. There is some wheat in Scania, and also in the environs of Upsala. This place was the residence of Odin, and ancient capital of Scandinavia; and in its vicinity there are many traces of cultivation, and remains of former splendour. In Sweden the state of agriculture is greatly behind that of most other countries; the ridges are neither levelled nor evened, nor regularly divided. The soil is raised very considerably in the middle, while both sides are more and more deprived of it, so that the edges are almost bare rock. Their winding form at both ends prevents the passage of the waters, to drain off which in such a climate, should be one of the principal objects. The fresh ground to be employed in agriculture is cleared of wood by fire, which spreads sometimes too far, and leaves around the cultivated spot a wide and inhospitable waste, inimical to vegetation. The destruction of the woods is undoubtedly the cause why certain districts

tracts do not now produce the same grain, or quantity of grain, as formerly. Traces of furrows, now overgrown with heath or moss, are every where found on moors and the brows of hills, in Scotland, Wales, and the North of England; and also in Sweden, Norway, and even in Iceland. It appeared remarkable that the wildest spots through which we passed in our way from Helsingburg to Gothenburg, and from thence to the capital, were not covered with heath, but moss, or a coarse kind of grass commonly called *bent grass*. The shocks of corn and what hay there is in Sweden are all placed on wooden frames, raised several feet above the ground. The sheaves of corn set up to dry in the fields are not placed in two parallel rows, inclining towards and meeting each other at the top, with two cap or hooding-sheaves, but in a circular form, and covered with one hooding-sheaf expanded at the end, for warding off the rain.

The shepherds in Sweden, as well as in Iceland, have horns made of birch-wood. Two excavated pieces of birch-wood are clapped close together, and bound tightly round with the bark of the same tree; so that one circular pipe is formed. The sound made with this horn is shrill and woodland, but not unpleasant. The sheep and cattle will come together at certain places and times, obedient to this call. It is in the same manner that the cattle are collected by the herdsmen of the Alps. What I saw of the south of Sweden affords certainly nothing very striking to the eye, yet as the country is altogether agreeably varied, and in other respects offers much novelty of observation, it makes an interesting

teresting route for a traveller. The paradise of all Sweden is Scania, where many of the nobility and people of fortune fix their residence in summer. You meet there with fine avenues of trees and other improvements of art. But as it is not my intention to describe the southern provinces, I shall proceed no farther in my account, nor do I mean to enter into a detail of the different towns in this part of my journey. Lidköping, Mariestadt, Orebro, and Arboga, might pass for fourth rate towns in France or Italy. The last stage, or post-house, called Fithia, is remarkable for nothing so much as its double meaning in the Swedish language, when it is pronounced by strangers. I was told by different persons that this ambiguity frequently served as a subject of great amusement to Gustavus III. who would sometimes at his table, in a very audible voice, ask any stranger that might happen to be present, the question, how he liked the last post-house he had passed in coming to Stockholm, viz. Fithia. The stranger, ignorant of the equivocation, perhaps said that he liked the house very well; or that he thought it but a contemptible little place. On which the king would, with little regard to delicacy, fall a laughing, and, looking significantly at the ladies, observe, that Mr. Such-a-one was in the right; that Fithia was indeed but a paltry little place. This anecdote is introduced here, solely for the purpose of warning strangers against mentioning this post-house in the company of Swedish ladies.

We arrived at Stockholm on the 10th of September, 1799, at nine o'clock at night. As we had not used the precaution of pre-
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viously writing to order lodgings, we were greatly embarrassed, because there are no inns at Stockholm, as in other towns. There was indeed one set up by a Frenchman; but having made a fortune in a few years, this man retired from business, and left his house to a Swede, who knew not how to manage it. When we arrived at this inn, all the apartments were occupied; and we should have been utterly at a loss how to pass the night, if we had not been so fortunate as to meet at the door Mr. Malmgrein, the most amiable and obliging man in all Sweden. There is not a traveller that has ever been at Stockholm, but will see with pleasure in these pages the name of that gentleman, and perhaps recollect, upon this occasion, some act of kindness shewn to himself by that truly benevolent and estimable person. Mr. Malmgrein, who has but little to do or care for, places his happiness in acts of complaisance and goodness to others, and particularly in shewing attention and kindness to strangers. He is always in motion, and always in an equal good humour. I believe he was never known to be ruffled or discomposed by spleen or anger. He is the friend of every one in Stockholm, from the greatest lord to the humblest burghers, and equally respected, beloved and caressed by all. Every body is happy to gratify any wish of Mr. Malmgrein's, a circumstance which he rarely turned to his own account, though he never missed an opportunity of using it for the benefit of others. He is the inventor of a game at cards in great vogue at Stockholm. He has his eye on every thing that passes; he is the great master of ceremonies on all occasions; and wherever you

you meet Mr. Malmgrein, there you also find harmony and good order. To the ladies he shews all the little attentions in his power, and appears ever ready and eager to oblige them. It may surprize the fair, that this man, who possesses the advantage of a fine person, should be so active and constant in their service from motives of the purest and most disinterested nature: in short, this man stands single in his kind; he has no enemies, because he has no ambition; he has no care, because he has no interest to pursue; he has no flatterers, because he has no favourite weakness; he never experiences any aggressions, because he possesses in his integrity a shield for their repulsion. Such was the first person we met with at Stockholm, when we were seeking for some place to pass the night in, that we might not be obliged to remain in the carriage till morning. It will not appear surprizing, after the character I have given of Mr. Malmgrein, that in the space of half an hour he provided us with lodgings, a coach-house for our carriage, a valet de place, and sent to our apartments an excellent supper. On the very same evening he would needs shew us the city. As we were looking about for lodgings, he pointed out us the statue of Gustavus III, the Princess's Palace, the Opera-House, and the North Bridge, at the same time giving a particular account, with the greatest rapidity, of the sums employed in the construction of those edifices, and other particulars; when they were begun, and by whom; how they were carried on, accidents that delayed their accomplishment, and when they were finished. At first I took him for a valet de place; but when I perceived

that he was saluted in a very familiar manner by the gentlemen that passed us in the street, and that all the people, wherever we went to enquire for lodgings, answered his questions with the greatest respect, and apparent readiness and desire to oblige him, I did not well know what to think of my friend. In the morning we were awakened early by a band of military music, that did us the honours of the place at the door of our bedchamber. Having a greater inclination to sleep than to hear their performance, we gave them some six-dollars, and wished them a good-morrow: but we were deceived in our calculations; as they found it worth their while, they came again two days after to wish us good bye. But as we did not like a continuation of this practice, we suffered them to depart without taking any farther notice of their civility. Next day, when we went to present some of our letters of introduction, we were astonished to find that all the gentlemen to whom they were addressed were already apprized of our visit. They were acquainted with the time of our arrival, and with what happened to us since; they knew in what sort of carriage we had come, the route we had taken, where we lodged, who was our lackey, what was our dress, &c. &c. These circumstances did not impress us with any great idea of the capital of Sweden; and we anticipated those inconveniencies which are usually experienced in a large capital, but without the pleasing freedom of living at perfect ease, and just as one pleases, amidst the obscurity of an immense capital.

CHAPTER III.

Topographical Description of Stockholm—Change produced in its Appearance by the Ice—Violence of the Cold that prevails in Winter—Some Objects mentioned which are peculiar to the Winter Season: Water-Carts, Sledges, &c.—A Sugar-House on Fire, and the curious Effects of the Frost—The Season of Summer: Country Life of the Nobility and Gentry—Their Diversions and Amusements—Passion of the Swedes for Cards and Gaming—Environs of Stockholm—Drottningholm: the Royal Palace—Annual Tournament at Drottningholm—The Royal Park at Stockholm—Royal Procession and yearly Festival in the Park.

IN order to form an idea of the romantic position of Stockholm, it will be well to cast a look over the accompanying map. There are few cities in Europe more advantageously situated than the one of which I am speaking, whether it be considered in a commercial point of view, or with regard to the variety of scenery that presents itself to the eye. The latter is particularly enhanced by the different prospects of the water with which the city is every where indented and encompassed. From a want of topographical knowledge, two Frenchmen, in their tour to the North, say, "that only the city of Stockholm, properly so called;

"is built on an island." But the fact is, that the greater part of what is called Stockholm is situated, not on one, but seven or eight islands, of which some are surrounded by the fresh water of the lake Mälär, and some by the salt water of the sea. The city, properly so called, stands on an island in the midst of the whole: to the west it is washed by fresh, and to the east by salt water, being placed at the junction of the lake Mälär with the Baltic Sea. The aggregate of the isles of Stockholm is as follows: 1. Stadensholmen, or City Island: 2. Riddarholmen, or the Knights' Island, in which is the Town House, and in front of this a statue of Gustavus Vasa. 3. Helgelandsöholmen, or the isle of the Holy Ghost. It was here, in the time of Magnus Ladislaus, that an important act was passed by the diet, or parliament, in the year 1282, for annexing many large domains to the crown. 4. Skipsöholmen, or the isle of Ships, called in the map Admiralstadsöholmen. Here are barracks and magazines for the flotilla. With this, the little island of Castelsöholmen is connected by a small bridge. 5. Blasiesöholmen, or the isle of Blasius: this, however, cannot be strictly called an island, because on one side the channel has been filled up by the formation of the king's gardens, so that it is now joined to the continent. It is here that the faction of the Hats, which was in favour of king Albrecht, in 1599, committed the horrid cruelty of burning alive two hundred Swedes. The party in opposition to the Hats, as is well known, were the Caps: because they wore this article of dress, which was considered as the patriotic distinction of the nation. It was in Albrecht's reign that

Sweden

Sweden fell under the sway of the renowned Semiramis of the North, Margaret of Norway.* 6. Ladugrårdlandet, or the land of Farms, which was formerly, but is no longer, an island. 7. Konungaholmen, or King's Island. 8. Longholmen, or Long Island.

There is a great variety of stations in this insulated and penin-

* In 1365, Magnus, king of Sweden, had formed the design of abolishing the senate, and humbling the pretensions of the Swedish nobles and prelates, who were in fact so many petty sovereigns. But so bold a scheme it was not in the power of Magnus to accomplish, though supported by an alliance with Denmark. The Swedish arms, in the cause of liberty, have always been invincible. Magnus, with his hated adherents, after a series of bloody battles, was driven out of the kingdom, and his nephew, Albert of Mecklenburg, was proclaimed king of Sweden in his stead. Albert, instead of profiting by the disasters of his predecessor, followed his example, and shared his fate. He began his reign with taking possession of all the castles and strong holds of the principal nobility, and re-united to the royal domains more than a third of the fiefs that had for a long time been in the hands of the gentlemen, or inferior nobility, and the clergy. In order farther to prosecute his plans, he introduced into all parts of the kingdom military corps of foreigners; and for their maintenance levied heavy contributions, and seized, without scruple or ceremony, the property of rich individuals, whether of laymen or of the clergy. The Swedish nobles, fired with indignation and resentment, declared to the king, that they no longer owned him for their sovereign, and offered the crown and sceptre to Margaret, queen of Norway. The ambitious Margaret did not hesitate to embrace so inviting an opportunity for annexing Sweden to her dominions. She raised an army, and at its head marched against Albert. This prince fancying that he had nothing to fear from a woman, amused himself with various railleries at the expence of the queen. Among other jokes he sent her a large stone, which he desired her to use for the purpose of sharpening her scissars and needles. Similar defiance, embittered by coarse sarcasms, we find common to all rude nations. The defeat of Albert in 1388 put an end to his jests. He was taken captive, carried before the queen, and by her thrown into prison, from which he was not liberated until he had renounced all claims and pretensions to the Crown of Sweden.

fulated capital, from which you may survey its manifold and singular beauties. Steeples, houses, rocks, trees, lakes, and the castle, which rears its head above the whole, present to the eye a most interesting picture. But the point of view which is more striking than all the others, and where every stranger should stop and look around him, is the north bridge. Turning towards the city, you have in front a view of its whole extent, and of the forepart of the castle, which stands on the brow of a hill. This is a work of superb architecture, simple indeed, but noble and majestic; not incumbered with that load of useless ornaments, which greatly disfigured the castle or palace of Copenhagen, as may still be seen from the ruins that were left by the fire, which has nearly destroyed that magnificent structure. Thence, on the right, your eye takes a wide range; and perceives, among other objects, a number of hills adorned with houses or with fir-trees, and rests with delight on a small island, embellished with a pavilion or summer house, which is reflected by the limpid surface of the water, and exhibits a most pleasing appearance. Near to this building, on the right hand, stands the beautiful house of the Count de Bunge, where a club is held, distinguished by the name of *the Society*. A prospect as much diversified, and not less extensive, is opened towards the east, comprehending at some distance the isle of Blasius, which communicates by means of a wooden bridge with Ships-island. To the left you see the theatre or play-house, and to the north you observe the *Nordermalm* or north-place, in the centre of which stands a guilt statue in bronze of

of Gustavus Adolphus. On two sides of this square, the right and the left, are two edifices, the fronts of which are in exact correspondence and symmetry with each other. One of them is the palace of the princess royal, and the other the opera-house. It is much to be regretted that the houses in this place are not built in such a style and order as to answer to these buildings. If they were altered and embellished in a manner analagous to the princess's palace and the opera-house, I will venture to say, that there are few cities which would afford such a magnificent point of view as the north bridge of Stockholm would then afford. To this is to be added the effect produced on the imagination, by the noise of the water rushing in a violent cataract through the arches of the bridge, which completes the romantic assemblage. After what has been said of the situation of Stockholm, it will be easy to conceive what a change the appearance of the whole scene must undergo by the opposite seasons.

The grand and most distinguished feature in the locality of that city, namely, being situated on islands amidst gulfs and lakes, is destroyed by the ice. The same water which divides the inhabitants of the different quarters in summer unites them in winter. It becomes a plain which is traversed by every body. The islands are islands no longer: horses in sledges, phaetons, and in vehicles of all sorts placed on skates, scour the gulf and lakes by the side of ships fixed in the ice, and astonished as it were to find themselves in such company on the same element. Those lakes, which in summer were brightened by the
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clear transparency of their waters reflecting every object on their banks, and presenting the animated picture of skiffs, oars, and small sails, are now turned into a place of rendezvous for men and children mingling in one throng. They walk, slide, fly about in sledges, or glide along on small skates. In the exercise of skating they display great dexterity and address, and amuse the spectators with the ease and quickness of their various movements; darting forward with the speed of arrows; turning and returning, and balancing their bodies according to inclination and circumstances, in such a manner that it is sometimes difficult to imagine what can be their principle of motion. There is no part of this great mass of water that is not arrested and subdued by the frost, except the current under the north bridge, and on the south near the king's stables. Here the water, which during the keenest frost dashes and foams with great noise through the arches of the bridge, sends up majestic clouds of vapour to a considerable height in the atmosphere; where, in the extreme rigour of winter, being converted by the intenseness of the cold into solid particles, they are precipitated down through their weight, and presenting their surface to the sun, assume the appearance of a shower of silver sand, reflecting the solar rays, and adorned with all manner of colours. In the interior of Stockholm, throughout all its different quarters, every thing in winter in like manner undergoes a sudden change. The snow that begins to fall in the latter weeks of autumn covers and hides the streets for the space of six months; and renders them more pleasant

fant and convenient than they are in summer or autumn; at which seasons, partly on account of the pavement, and partly on account of the dirt, they are often almost impassable. One layer of snow on another, hardened by the frost, forms a surface more equal and agreeable to walk on, which is sometimes raised more than a yard above the stones of the street. You are no longer stunned by the irksome noise of carriage-wheels; but this is exchanged for the tinkling of little bells, with which they deck their horses before the sledges. The only wheels now to be seen in Stockholm are those of small carts, employed by men servants of families to fetch water from the pump in a cask. This compound of cart and cask always struck me as a very curious and extraordinary object; inasmuch, that I once took the trouble of following it, in order to have a nearer view of the whimsical robe in which the frost had invested it, and particularly of the variegated and fantastical drapery in which the wheels were covered and adorned. This vehicle, with all its appertenances, afforded to a native of Italy a very singular spectacle. The horse was wrapped up, as it seemed, in a mantle of white down, which under his breast and belly was fringed with points and tufts of ice. Stalactical ornaments of the same kind, some of them to the length of a foot, were also attached to his nose and mouth. The servant that attended the cart had on a frock, which was encrusted with a solid mass of ice. His eye-brows and hair jingled with icicles, which were formed by the action of the frost on his breath and perspiration. Sometimes the water in the pump was

frozen, so that it became necessary to melt it by the injection of a red-hot bar of iron. I have attempted to make a drawing of this carriage; but it is difficult for art to imitate the operations and effects of the frost, displayed in the various appearances of the ice; its transparency and the fantastical beauty of its embroideries are not easily copied. For the purpose of rendering the design more interesting, I have chosen the pump at the bridge near the Mint: this gave me an opportunity of introducing into the piece that edifice, which was very near the house called Rosendalska, where we lodged, and formed an angle of the street leading to the square of Riddarholmen. In the same plate I have added a representation of one of those small sledges that are used for the conveyance of goods or luggage from one place to another, which are peculiar, I believe, to the city of Stockholm. Neither men nor women carry any thing on their heads or shoulders, but employ these sledges, which they push on before them. When they come to a declivity, they rest with their left hip and thigh on the sledge, and glide down to the bottom with a velocity, which to a stranger appears both astonishing and frightful, guiding all the while the motion of the sledge with their right foot. The address with which they perform this, it is not easy for any one to conceive who has not witnessed it. If you add to the objects which I have been describing, the curious appearance of the many different pellices that are worn with the furs on the outside, you will imagine what a striking scene the streets of Stockholm in winter present to a foreigner, especially to one that came from the southern part of Europe.





In the winter 1799, I beheld at Stockholm a spectacle of a very uncommon nature, and such as I never, in all probability, shall see a second time. It was a sugar-house on fire in the suburb, on the south side of the city. The accident being announced by the discharge of cannon, all the fire engines were immediately hurried to the aid of the owners. The severity of that winter was so great, that there was not a single spot near, where the water was not frozen to the depth of a yard from the surface. It was necessary to break the ice with hatchets and hammers, and to draw up the water as from a well. Immediately on filling the casks, they were obliged to carry them off with all possible speed, lest the water should be congealed, as in fact about a third part of it was by the time it could be brought to the place where it was wanted. In order to prevent it as much as possible from freezing, they constantly kept stirring it about with a stick; but even this operation had only a partial effect. At last, by the united power of many engines, which launched forth a great mass of water, the fire was got under, after destroying only the roof, the house itself being very little damaged. It was in the upper stories of the building that the stock of sugar was deposited; there were also many vessels full of treacle, which being broken by the falling-in of the roof, the juice ran down along the sides of the walls. The water thrown up to the top of the house by the engines, and flowing back on the walls, stair-cases, and through the windows, was stopped in its downward course by the mighty power of the frost. After the fire was extinguished,

the engines continued for some time to play, and the water they discharged was frozen almost the instant it came in contact with the walls already covered with ice. Thus a house was formed of the most extraordinary appearance that it is possible to conceive. It was so curious an object that every body came to gaze at it as a something wonderful. The whole building, from top to bottom, was incrustated with a thick coat of ice: the doors and windows were closed up, and in order to gain admission it was necessary with hammers and hatchets to open a passage; they were obliged to cut through the ice another stair-case, for the purpose of ascending to the upper stories. All the rooms, and what remained of the roof, were embellished by long stalactites of multifarious shapes, and of a yellowish colour, composed of the treacle and congealed water. This building, contemplated in the light of the sun, seemed to bear some analogy to those diamond castles that are raised by the imaginations of poets. It remained upwards of two months in the same state, and was visited by all the curious. The children in particular had excellent amusement with it, and contributed not a little to the destruction of the enchanted palace, by searching for the particles of sugar, which were found in many places incorporated with the ice.

The change of the seasons produces at Stockholm, as every where else, a difference in the amusements and occupations of the people. But it is not in many places that this difference is so sensibly felt as at Stockholm. During the long days of summer, when the twilight for more than a whole month supercedes the

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the use of candles, all the inhabitants of tolerable fortunes quit the town and retire to the country. There they continue the three or four following months, in spite of every inconvenience which the weather may occasion. Their country houses are fitted up in a style of great magnificence and luxury, and many families live at more expence in these mansions than in their town residences. Those villas are for the most part pleasantly situated, and embellished by works of art, which second and improve the efforts of nature. You there find hot-houses, in which they raise peaches, pine-apples, grapes, and other fruit. All kinds of wines, liquors, and other delicacies, are lavished at the table of a Swedish gentleman, or rich manufacturer, or merchant, in the country. The ceremonies and stiffness that prevail at town entertainments, are as much as possible laid aside. The houses of the merchants are the most agreeable as well as the best maintained, because they live in the most unrestrained manner, that is to say, with the least etiquette, and are the richest class of society. The nobility never can divest themselves entirely of that formality which seems to be a part of their inheritance, and consequently they do not enjoy the pleasures of the country in perfection. The two French travellers previously mentioned, who certainly entertained no prejudices against the nobility, made the same remark in their journey through Scania; and it may be justly extended to the whole of that order in every part of Sweden. "Many gentlemen," they say, "pass the summer in the country, and some of

“ of them the whole year. But a residence in this province, from
 “ a ridiculous vanity, is by no means so agreeable as it might be.
 “ The visits of gentlemen to one another are always visits of cere-
 “ mony. They are attended with their horses, dogs, and a train
 “ of servants, and remain at each others houses for several days to-
 “ gether. Their round of visits being made, they live at home
 “ for the remainder of the year. They are so conceited of their
 “ rank, that they will not admit women of inferior birth into their
 “ company, even though they be married to persons of the highest
 “ quality.”

The Swedes know nothing of horse-racing, nor are they at all acquainted with what the English call hunting. When they speak of the chace, they mean by it the sport of shooting game. In this they fancy themselves great adepts, though they have not attained to any degree of skill in the art, and are by no means to be compared to the sportsmen of Italy or England. Hawking, and the various modes of catching birds, which constitute so great a source of amusement in Lombardy, are wholly unknown to them; nor do they take any great pleasure in riding on horse-back, or in other diversions and sports of the field, that yield a mixture of pure air and bodily exercise. The great enemy to the spirit of society in Sweden, both in town and country, and that which renders their parties the most heavy and insipid in Europe, is cards and other games of hazard. Ladies and gentlemen, old and young, neither think nor dream of any thing but cards. There

is no enjoyment without play. No person is looked upon as sociable and pleasant, unless he knows how to play at *boston*.* this is reckoned the height of social accomplishment. All you can do in summer in the open air for your amusement, is to make excursions in the environs of Stockholm, or to saunter in the garden of Vauxhall, which is an humble imitation of that near London. As for walking about in the town, that is out of the question, on account of the pavement of the streets, which, I believe, is by far the worst that can be met with in Europe. There are sometimes carriage-races, and also boat-races, or what they call *regatta*, which serve as a temporary diversion. The principal walks or excursions are, to the royal parks at Ulrikfsdal, Haga, Drottningholm, and Carleberg. The king has some palaces in the vicinity of Stockholm, besides these of Gripsholm, and Strömsholm; but the most beautiful, as well as the most frequently inhabited, is that of Drottningholm.

Drottningholm, or Queen's Island, is situated at the distance of six miles from Stockholm, on an island in the lake of Mälär. The palace or castle stands on the edge of the lake, which here presents a magnificent view. The situation of the palace is beautiful, and the gardens belonging to it being of considerable extent add much to its allurements. This building appears to great advantage. The front and back parts are perfectly uniform, each containing thirty-one windows, besides those in the two pavilions or wings. Near the place is a number of houses, in which one

* Boston is the name of a game at cards not unlike that of casino.

hundred and seventy gentlemen may be conveniently lodged. The princes and princesses have each separate pavilions. The side of the palace fronting the lake has a flight of steps, with a balustrade, which is ornamented with iron flower-pots. On a kind of platform, between the steps and the castle, stand two small statues in bronze; and another of the same composition is placed between the steps and the lake, representing Neptune. On the stair-case are two lions of marble holding scutcheons, and several other marble statues. On the opposite side of the palace, parallel to the whole length of the building, is a terrace adorned with a balustrade, and two brazen statues. In the midst of a grass-plot, or bowling-green, on which a few yew-trees are planted, is a large basin of water, with a Hercules destroying the hydra: there are, besides this, several pieces of water of small size, and a number of figures in bronze are arranged around those basins. At each end of the terrace is an iron gate, over one of which are two lions in bronze, and over the other two horses. Descending from the terrace, you see four large vases and four statues of the same metal. All the works in bronze which you observe here, were taken at Prague in the thirty years war. On one of the vases you perceive the cypher of the Emperor Ferdinand II. They are, for the most part, in the style of the Florentine school, in which the German artists used at that time chiefly to study. The walks in the garden are well laid out, but in a fashion that approaches too much the stiffness of studied regularity. One quarter of it, called *Cantou*, is an imitation of the Chinese manner. Here is erected a large pavilion amidst

amidst a dozen of smaller ones, each destined for different purposes : the whole resembles the residence of a mandarin. Of the smaller pavilions there is one that contains a complete forge and work-shop, with the necessary apparatus for making locks, an art in which Gustavus III. is said to have excelled, and which he frequently practised. It is customary, among Mahomedan princes, or perhaps a duty enjoined by their laws, to learn in their youth some trade, by means of which they may gain a subsistence, in case of their being reduced to that necessity by some of those sudden revolutions, which are incident to all despotic governments. I do not suppose that Gustavus III. was actuated by any such motive ; but as this prince, from some reason or other, chose to be a mechanic, there was a singular propriety in a king of Sweden becoming an artificer in brass and iron. The other pavilions serve for bedrooms, for supper-rooms, dancing and card-rooms. The furniture, which is very splendid, was brought from China ; but, after all, the object with which a spectator is most forcibly impressed in the pleasure-grounds of Drottningholm, is the contrast between trees and flowers and barren rocks. In the palace itself is to be seen an elegant library, fitted up with great taste. Besides a well chosen collection of books, it contains a number of Etrurian vases, some of them highly valuable. Among an immense number of manuscripts, there is one by the celebrated Queen Christina, entitled *Miscellaneous Thoughts* ; also a copy in the hand-writing of Charles XII. when a child ; on one of the leaves of which is in-

scribed *vincere aut mors*.* Many passages are here transcribed from Cornelius Nepos and Quintus Curtius. Besides books, the library comprehends a cabinet of natural history and another of antient and modern medals, and likewise a collection of original Flemish, Dutch, and Italian paintings. The whole forms a monument of that love of science, and taste for the fine arts, which so eminently distinguished the queen of Sweden, mother to Gustavus III. and sister to Frederic the Great of Prussia. The medals are deposited in eight chests, with one hundred and twenty drawers. The princess just mentioned instituted also an academy of belles-lettres, who, during her life time, held their meetings at Drottningholm. The palace of Drottningholm farther offers to your view a gallery of paintings, the principal subjects of which are, the battles and victories of the kings and princes of Sweden.

Every year an exhibition takes place at Drottningholm, at the king's expence, representing a tournament, in which all the laws of chivalry are observed with the greatest exactness. This shew, which is generally attended by an immense crowd of spectators, carries the imagination back for four or five centuries. It was particularly brought into vogue by Gustavus III. who was a great lover of whatever tended to impress the mind with ideas of grandeur. His present Majesty, who shews a disposition to tread in the footsteps of his father as much as possible, after his accession to

* Victory or death.

the throne revived this yearly festival, which during the regency had been for some time discontinued. When I was in Sweden, the day fixed for the celebration was the 30th of August. A few days before a grand ball was given, during which the crown herald entered the room, and proclaimed the royal challenge in the following words: "Gustavus the fourth, Adolphus, by the grace of God, the most puissant king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, to all our faithful and beloved counts, barons, knights, and gentlemen of our kingdom, possessed of gallantry and virtue, health. We make them a tender of our royal good will, and we pray God to have them in his holy keeping, all and every one of them, according to his birth, rank, and dignity. Having observed with pleasure that the nobility of our kingdom in general, and more especially those who are nearest our person, the officers of our crown, and other gentlemen belonging to our court, are still animated with the noble desire of glory, with the valour and ardour for brave actions, by which the knights of Sweden were so greatly distinguished of old; and that our said nobility hath on all occasions given striking proofs of courage; and being willing, after the example of our ancestors, to do all within our power to cherish and support that precious love of honour, which forms heroes in the very midst of peace; and further, to preserve a taste for warlike exercises, by affording opportunities to those possessed of military spirit to signalize themselves: for those reasons we have resolved, according to ancient custom, to hold a public tournament at our castle of Drottningholm,

“ where, in conjunction with a number of knights, counts,
 “ barons, and other gentlemen of name and arms, *we will main-
 “ tain and defend* against all who shall lawfully be admitted to
 “ these exercises, and shall present themselves at the barriers of the
 “ circus, and in the presence of judges elected for the occasion, as
 “ well against all collectively as against each individually, *that the
 “ laws of honour, enlivened by those of love, acquire double force in
 “ the hearts of valorous knights*; which opinion we and our knights,
 “ armed at all points, will defend on horseback against all the
 “ knights who shall oppose it, by jousts and alternate combats,
 “ with halberd, javelin, sword, and pistols; in which combat the
 “ laws shall be observed which we now prescribe.” (Here the laws
 were recited.) These laws or conditions were accepted by the
 knights, who promised to present themselves on this honourable ap-
 peal, and to maintain, *That the laws of honour have sufficient power
 of themselves in the hearts of valorous knights, and that, so far from
 receiving any additional force from love, it is, on the contrary, by unit-
 ing with chivalry, that love obtains its splendour and duration*; and
 thereupon they craved liberty to appoint, as judges on their part,
 one who was named in their declaration or deed of acceptance. As
 to the particulars of this fête, which lasted several days, it will be
 sufficient to say, that every thing was attended to which we read
 of in the accounts of ancient tournaments, and that the prizes were
 distributed on the last day, under the direction of the queen, ac-
 cording to the sentence of the appointed judges. By one of the
 laws it was granted that the knights might wear upon their armour
 the

the ribbands or favours of their ladies. It was in the power of the ladies to propose prizes for which the knights were to contend, by running at the ring. This, I believe, is the only instance in our days of an attempt being made to restore a species of diversion, which for several ages had fallen into disuse, though in former times it was extremely popular. It was suited to the manners of that period in which it flourished, and productive not only of pleasure but real utility. This can at present scarcely be supposed to be the case, as the mode of warfare and the spirit of heroism now existing, seem to require exercise and accomplishments of a very different kind. It is not easy to ascertain precisely the epoch when tournaments were first instituted, nor can we with certainty determine on the patron to whom the honour of the invention is due. It is claimed by the English, the French, and Germans: yet we may so far fix the time, as to assume that tournaments began to be known about the ninth century, and that they are of eastern origin. In the early period of the institution, it was not usual for females to attend at the tournaments, but subsequently they overcame their reluctance to scenes of bloodshed, and never failed to form a considerable part of the circle of spectators. No doubt their presence added greatly to the brilliancy of the assemblage, and contributed much to the repute and continuation of this barbarous institution.

It may be observed, that the name *tournament* was originally bestowed upon all kinds of military combats and exercises, achieved, according to certain regulations, by a number of knights and their squires, both for amusement and to shew their valour and activity.

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On the other hand, *joust* signified single combat, when knight was opposed to knight, and squire to squire, with javelin or dagger. After the proclamation of a tournament, and whilst the place of action was preparing, the knights displayed their titles and rights for entering the lists, by an exhibition of the armorial bearings of their families, which were exposed to public view in the cloisters of some adjoining monastery.

The royal park which is very large, and planted with trees of various kinds, is situated at the east side of Stockholm, towards the sea. On the first day of May the king and all the court, in their carriages, accompanied by a guard, go in procession round the park two or three times. Sometimes the king and prince will alight from their carriages, and converse with the foreign ministers or other favourites, who happen to be present at this ceremony. On a small eminence of the park which projects into the sea, the Spanish ambassador has not long ago built a summer house. All the ships passing and repassing from the harbour of Stockholm come so near to this promontory, if I may call it by this name, as almost to touch it: and a person may speak with the crew or passengers from the windows of that lodge, without raising his voice above the usual pitch. When in the lodge, you fancy yourself on board of a ship, not on *terra firma*. In this there is a singularity and novelty, which gives an incitement to the mind, and gratifies the imagination, in rough weather, by a momentary apprehension of danger, soon changed into joy by the recollection that there exists not the least ground for alarm. Some of the Roman emperors, if I recollect
justly,

justly, were fond of stretching out piers and building houses on a foundation raised in the sea: whims of this kind are to be met with in every age and in every country. The king, of whose domains the park forms a part, has allotted portions of it to several noblemen, with a view of engaging them to build houses there. The Spanish ambassador, for the improvement of his fanciful mansion, has, at a very considerable expence, carried the foundation of it farther into the sea; and thus created the most delightful summer residence that can be imagined.

On the twenty-fourth of June, or Midsummer-day, it is the custom to place shrubs and flowers at the doors of great houses, as they do in France on the first of May, and according to what I have heard also in England. On that day the king and royal family come to the park, where they take up their abode in tents for the remainder of the month, that is, for the space of nearly a week. A camp is formed of the garrison of Stockholm, composed of two regiments of foot-guards, some companies of horse-guards, and a corps of artillery. Along the lines of the camp they raise poles or posts, adorned with branches of cyphers, and sometimes scutcheons with mottos or devices. At the foot of the posts are placed barrels of beer on wooden frames: about six or seven o'clock in the afternoon, on a particular signal, the barrels are opened; when each soldier is presented with a pipe, a loaf of bread, two herrings, and some money. All this is done at the expence of the officers. In the mean time the military music plays, and the soldiers begin to drink and to dance. Upon each of the
barrels

barrels fits a foldier, in the form of a Bacchus, or some other figure, more or less ridiculous. Those that are dressed up in this manner first take the liquor and propose the toasts, which are generally numerous, and constantly accompanied with the cry of *vivat*, answering to the English huzza. When any of the royal family, or a general officer, chance to pass by, their healths are drank, and always with the same accompaniment of *vivat*. A kind of masquerade ensues for a short time, during which the foldiers amuse the people, that flock round them in the lines of the camp, with songs, and indulge themselves in various freaks and acts of merriment. On the beating of the retreat, every thing is again submitted to the reign of order. Such festivals, without diminishing respect, certainly tend to excite in the soldiery and people an interest and attachment to the royal family.

CHAPTER IV.

The Months of May and June, September and October, particularly disagreeable, on Account of the Weather—Precautions against the Severities of Winter, Stoves, and Warm Clothing—Amusements of the Capital in Winter—Plays, Operas, Concerts, Balls and Assemblies—An Account of the Swedish Ladies, their Beauty, Accomplishments and Manners—Women of another Description—Character of a Swedish Petit Maitre—Spirit of Society; Music; Dinner-parties—Formality and Restraint of Swedish Manners—Etiquette of the Court—Costume of Dress—Private Suppers given by the King and Royal Family—Intercourse between the Court and the People, and their mutual Relations of Condescension and Respect—Great Assemblies at the Exchange, which are honoured by the Presence of the Royal Family—Places of public Resort, and their Expences—A Club called the Society.

WHEN the cold of winter drives the people of fortune into the capital, then begin at Stockholm plays, operas, balls, and great dinners, which during the summer months had been suspended. Some months of the year are in Sweden extremely disagreeable: September and October, when the rains set in; and May and June, when the thaw commences. At these two

seasons travelling becomes almost impossible, and the capital as well as other towns, are so clogged and blocked up with mud and dirt, that you can scarcely move from one place to another. It is for this reason that the Swedes so generally wear outer shoes, called *galoches*, which are very useful and necessary for the preservation of health, by keeping the feet from wet. At this season a carriage of one's own becomes indispensably necessary; for the hackney coaches of Stockholm are so filthy as not to be endured by any lady, or almost any gentleman.

It is not unnatural to suppose, that in the midst of a Swedish winter an Italian would run a risk of perishing through cold; but this is by no means the case. I was at Stockholm all the winter of 1799, when the cold was at or below twenty-five degrees of the thermometer of Celsius; and I can declare with perfect truth, that I suffered much less from the severity of the weather than I have sometimes done in Italy. If the cold in those climates be great, the means of warding off its effects are proportionably great. The stoves in Sweden are the most ingeniously contrived for heating a chamber, and keeping it warm with a very small quantity of fuel, of any in Europe. They are rather dangerous, it is true, if entrusted to strangers, who do not know how to manage them, and who, by shutting up the vent at an improper time, may occasion too great an expenditure of vital air. But the Swedes know so exactly the moment when it is fit to close the air-hole, that there is scarcely an instance of any accident happening from the use of stoves in Sweden. They are in
general

general so constructed, as to correspond in their appearance with the furniture and style of the apartment in which they are placed. A great number of pipes proceed from the stove, which do not merely serve to conduct the smoke, but their chief use is to circulate the heated air that is combined with the smoke throughout the apartment. It is true that, in order to resist the power of winter at Stockholm, you must, when you go out, carry about with you a whole wardrobe of cloaths; this inconvenience, however, is little thought of, when custom has rendered it familiar. I have often been greatly diverted at seeing a Swede, before he came into a room, divesting himself of his pellice, great coat, and upper shoes, and leaving them in the anti-chamber. The vestments or *exuvie*, of ten persons are sufficient to load a large table. I knew a gentleman, who disliked pellices, and substituted common great coats, of which he wore two at a time. These, with two pair of gloves, his galoches, and his stick, make altogether ten different articles for the anti-chamber, viz. two great coats, two galoches, four gloves, one stick, and one hat. A good memory is requisite not to forget any of those articles on taking your leave. When a gentleman has occasion in winter to go any where on foot, or to walk ever so short a distance from his carriage, he wears great jack-boots, lined with fur or flannel, and under them shoes and white stockings; the boots he pulls off in the anti-chamber. With such boots and a good pellice, a man may set the utmost severity of cold at defiance.

Of the winter amusements of Stockholm, I do not feel any

great inclination to be particular ; nor do I apprehend that information of this kind is very generally interesting. Theatrical entertainments, which among nations that have arrived at a high degree of civilization and refinement, are considered as a great source of pleasure, are not so much sought after by the inhabitants of Sweden. Gustavus III. was the first king who wished to excite a taste for the theatre ; in his reign, therefore, the stage met with great encouragement, and rose high in reputation. The opera at Stockholm was thought little inferior to that at Paris. Besides some very good singers, several excellent ballet-dancers were engaged ; but since that king's death it has greatly fallen off, and is now very little attended to. The Swedes have never at any period discovered an original genius for music. All the operas hitherto performed in Sweden are either translations from French or Italian pieces, or the works of some foreign master. As to musical compositions, not a single piece has been produced since the departure of Vogler, that comes up even to mediocrity. If indeed the mere application of mechanical rules, without any knowledge of declamation or sensibility of soul, were sufficient to constitute a composer in music, we might confer that appellation on Mr. Hofner, and with the same justice we might call Mr. Kaistner a singer, if voice alone gave a claim to that appellation. Or, if it were possible for any one to excel in vocal performance without voice, modulation, or method, we might rank Madame Mello, Mademoiselles Stading and Myaberg, Mr. Stenborg and others, in the number of virtuosi. The dramatic representation

mentation that is most relished, and which to those who know the Swedish language is certainly the most interesting, is the little pieces acted by young persons who are training up for the opera. Among these there are now and then some who give true indications of genius in their attempts. Those little operas, as well as plays, are exhibited in the old theatre. Besides the royal theatres there is that of Mr. Stenborg, where the comic operas are given. It is but little frequented by people of rank, and is in every respect much inferior to the other houses.

I was told an anecdote of a celebrated actress at one of the royal theatres in the reign of Gustavus III. which serves in some measure to pourtray that monarch, and at the same time to paint the airs in which the vain and conceited race of players were led to indulge themselves by the condescension of the king. The first actress in the national theatre was a Danish woman of the name of Walters, who was the daughter of a common sailor, but had received a good education at Copenhagen for the stage. Being handsome, as well as distinguished in her profession, she had many admirers, whom it was her delight to torment by every species of caprice. Her insolence became so great through habitual indulgence, that she did not hesitate to display it even towards the king himself. Considering her salary as inadequate to her merit, she petitioned for an augmentation of her allowance, and one day personally applied to the king in a tone very positive and peremptory. His majesty desired her to be content with the present payments, and told her, in a very decided manner, that she must not expect
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her salary to be ever encreased. "Very well," said the lady, "then I demand my dismissal." "You shall neither be dismissed, nor better paid." "O! then I shall make my escape— fly from the country, and never shew my face in it again." "You may try, but you will probably not find it very easy to get out of the kingdom, if I forbid it." A short time after, notwithstanding the vigilance with which she was watched by order of the court, she succeeded in her plan, and at the last post-house wrote in the day-book the following lines to the king: "Sire, it is much easier to escape from your kingdom than you suppose." She desired that this day-book might be shewn to his majesty; and as a curiosity it was sent to him. She then went to Copenhagen, where being known and received with great applause, she attached herself to that stage. The king of Sweden, some time after, made new proposals to her, which she at first treated with great disdain, but at length having obtained the sum she demanded, she returned in triumph to Stockholm.

The concerts and balls which are given in the winter season are those at the Exchange, Vauxhall, and some particular societies and private houses. As to the concerts at the Hall of the Knights, they are scarce worth mentioning, because they are in general made up of the same singers and the same band as the former. The foreign virtuosi, who passing through this city go to hear them, are always disappointed, and almost in every respect dissatisfied. One of the principal public amusements in winter are the balls at the Exchange. To the lovers of dancing these are a very great resource.

resource. In the centre of the building is a large ball-room, and on either side apartments for card-players. These balls are frequented only by people of fashion; but those at Vauxhall are open to every body, and in general abound with bad company. The assemblies at the Exchange afford a very pleasing sight. There, in one evening you may see all the beauties of the capital collected together.

The ladies of Sweden are, generally speaking, very handsome. Their countenances bear the characteristic of northern physiognomy, which is an expression of the most perfect tranquillity and composure of mind, indicating nothing of that passion and fire which, to every discerning observer, is visible in the features of the French and Italian ladies. As there is but little gallantry or attention shewn them by the men, and as they pass a great part of their time either alone or amongst themselves, their conversation, though they are well educated, possesses but a small share either of variety or interest; and of that happy art of supporting conversation with vivacity, which so eminently distinguishes our Italian ladies, they are wholly destitute. The principal object that employs their time and attention is dress; and this anxiety is rather the effect of an ambition to outshine their rivals in elegance and splendour, than the result of an eagerness to please the men and make conquests. They are, however, not free from the imputation of coquetry, because they are certainly fond of admiration and praise: they would like to see every man at their feet, and would wish to be called the belles of the North: but their predominant

passion

passion is a desire of public notice and distinction. There is not an individual for whom they feel, in their heart, such strong and violent sentiments of friendship, tenderness, and love, as are found in those who live in warmer climates.

The same constitution which produces distance and reserve in one class of women, is the cause of excessive licentiousness in the inferior orders. The prodigality of their kindness is in proportion to the coldness of their temperament. They seem to think they can never give enough, because they feel little even in bestowing the greatest favours. There are not in Stockholm, as in other places, any women of the town: instead of these—individuals have mistresses, who maintain a rank in society much above their condition in life. They are pretty much in the style of some distinguished individuals of that description in England. They require to be courted in a formal manner; nor are their good graces, such as they are, to be obtained by any one without some previous introduction; a custom which I am far from discommending, but which, on the contrary, I think is entitled to some credit, even though they are not contented with one lover at a time. Perhaps they might be so satisfied, and even inclined to exchange their condition with the more uniform state of concubines, if they could meet with admirers sufficiently affluent and generous to enable them to confine their acquaintance to one person. But the honorary premium usually given them is very small, and they must have at least seven or eight lovers to support the style of dress they aspire to, which is the only object of their care

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day and night. They exact from their friends and favourites a degree of attention and respect even in public, that appears extraordinary to a foreigner. They would immediately dismiss a lover that would hesitate to bow to them in public places, or even to kiss their hands, as is the custom in Sweden for gentlemen to perform, in token of respect to ladies of rank and character. I have often seen officers of distinction submitting to these acts of humiliation toward women of the loosest conduct, and scarcely worthy to belong to the Balladiere caste :* for the same ladies, who are thus courted by their several lovers, and require so much ceremony and attention in day-light, will sometimes parade the streets when it is dark, and expose themselves to any adventure that may enable them to gain money. From the facility of keeping mistresses by a species of partnership, it happens that the men in Sweden, especially in the capital, feel no jealousy ; they “ enjoy love,” as Helvetius expresses it, “ but do not sigh.”

The Swedes, like the English, are taken up with their business in the day time, and spend their evenings at cards, or sometimes, though very rarely, in the company of the ladies. A Swedish *petit maitre* is an animal that holds a middle station between beings of that kind in Germany and those in France. He is a fool, as in all countries. He spends the whole day in changing his clothes, wears large whiskers reaching down the length of his

* *Balladieres* are dancing girls in India, whose favours are to be purchased with money, but who are not on that account held as objects of scorn or reproach, because it belongs to their caste to be thus unfortunately circumstanced.

chin, and paints his face. If, added to these decorations, he can but scrape a little on the fiddle, he is the darling of all the ladies who play, in their feeble way, on the harpsichord. A taste for music in Swedish societies, is by no means the predominant passion. It is as yet so little formed, and the judgment of the audience so wavering and uncertain, that, after hearing any thing played, they will consider with themselves what opinion it may be proper to give; and watch the countenance of any foreigner that may happen to be present in order to regulate their sentiments, and decide concerning their own impressions. Taste is the result of a well constructed and well informed mind, and of a sensibility of disposition. Until the Swedish ladies shall change their minds and hearts, they will always sing and play more for the purpose of surprizing by the ease of their execution, than for that of giving delight by their expression. It is impossible that they should communicate to others what they do not feel themselves. However, for their consolation it may be said, that in France, Germany, England, and in all countries, there are musicians of the same inefficient class.

The want of music in the polite circles, or any thing approaching to that science, is not, I am sorry to say, compensated by the attractions and charms of conversation. You feel the want of many things in Sweden, which in some other countries constitute a fund of social pleasure and entertainment. There is, for instance, nothing to be met with that resembles those friendly dinners, where a small number of select friends meet, not for the
purpose

purpose of indulging in epicurean extravagance, but from the sole motive of enjoying one another's company. The Swedish dinner parties are expensive arrangements of shew and formality. It will often happen that out of forty or fifty people, who appear in consequence of an invitation sent with all possible ceremony, and perhaps a week or a fortnight before the appointed day, scarcely three or four know one another sufficiently to make the meeting agreeable. A foreigner may still fare worse, and have the misfortune of being seated near a person totally unacquainted with any language but his own. Before the company sit down to dinner, they first pay their respects to a side table, laden with bread, butter, cheese, pickled salmon, and *liqueur*, or brandy; and by the tasting of these previous to their repast, endeavour to give an edge to their appetite, and to stimulate the stomach to perform its office. After this prelude, the guests arrange themselves about the dinner table, where every one finds at his place three kinds of bread, flat and coarse rye bread, white bread, and brown bread. The first sort of bread is what the peasants eat; it is crisp and dry: the second sort is common bread; but the brown, last mentioned, has a sweet taste, being made with the water with which the vessels in the sugar-houses are washed, and is the nastiest thing possible. All the dishes are at once put upon the table, but no one is allowed to ask for what he likes best, the dishes being handed round in regular succession; and an Englishman has often occasion for all his patience to wait till the one is put in motion on which he has fixed his choice. The Swedes are more know-

ing in this respect, and, like the French, eat of every thing that comes before them: and although the different dishes do not seem to harmonize together, yet such is the force of habit, that the guests apparently find no inconvenience from the most opposite mixtures. Anchovies, herrings, onions, eggs, pastry, often meet together on the same plate, and are swallowed promiscuously. The sweet is associated with the sour, mustard with sugar, confectionaries with salt meat or salt fish; in short, eatables are intermingled with a poetical licence, that sets the precept of Horace at defiance—

Sed non ut placidis coeant immitia.

An Italian is not very much at a loss at these feasts; but an Englishman finds himself quite uncomfortable and out of his element: he sees no wine drank either with the ladies or the gentlemen during dinner; but must take it himself in a solitary manner: he is often obliged to wait for hours before he can help himself to what he prefers to eat, and when the meat arrives, he generally thinks it not dressed plain enough, but disagreeable from the quantity of spices with which it is seasoned. After dinner the ladies do not leave him to his bottle; he is expected to adjourn immediately with them to the drawing-room, where the company, after thanking the master and mistress of the house with a polite or rather ceremonious bow for their good cheer, are regaled with tea and coffee. I have not entered into a circumstantial description of these long dinners, but only given the general outline, that I might not inflict upon my readers that *ennui*, which I confess I have myself sometimes

sometimes experienced when I was among the number of the guests. In the interval between dinner and supper, which however, from the many hours that are thought necessary for the acts of eating and drinking, is not long, there is no amusement whatever but playing at cards. If you cannot join in this rational recreation, you are abandoned to your fate, and may sit in some corner of the room, indulging in meditation on whatever subject you please.

I have already noticed the extreme passion of the Swedes for cards; an amusement too fascinating in all countries, but which in Sweden, especially among the higher orders, seems to absorb every power and faculty of the soul. The following anecdote may serve to illustrate it in a striking manner:—A nobleman of great rank having waited longer than usual for his dinner, and seeing that no preparation was made for it, went down to call his servants to an account, and to examine into the reason of the delay. He found his household, in imitation of their superiors, deeply engaged at cards. They excused themselves to their master by telling him that they were now at the most interesting point of the game; and the butler, who had the greatest stake, took the liberty of explaining the case to his excellency, who could not in conscience but approve his reasons. However, being unwilling to wait for his dinner till the game was decided, he sent the butler to lay the cloth, while he himself sat down with the other servants, and managed the interest of that individual in his absence.

The great formality and restraint that prevails throughout all the polite circles of Sweden, and which are not banished even by the superabundant luxury of a northern feast, and the justice which all are inclined to do to it, may without doubt be traced to the court of Stockholm, the most formal I believe in Europe; nay, I had nearly said the world: but there is undoubtedly still more of rigid etiquette at the court of Pekin. The reason why the court of Stockholm has happened, shall I say, to intrench itself in so many forms and ceremonies above all other courts, I have not time to enquire; though the research might be curious, and perhaps capable of being illustrated in a satisfactory manner, from the history of the Swedish government. Thus much we can say, that Gustavus III, who had a very exalted notion of royal dignity and pre-eminence, added greatly to the strictness of etiquette, though it had already attained to a very considerable height. As I have given an account of the dinner-parties in private life, I shall attempt to shew the manners of the court, and speak of the entertainments of the royal table, which will furnish the reader with tolerably adequate ideas of the forms that may be observed on other similar occasions. A drawing-room terminates commonly in a public supper for the royal family, who sit alone at table, all the nobility and officers of the kingdom standing round as mere spectators. The ladies of the senators, and others of equal rank, have the privilege of being seated on *tabourets*, placed in semicircles at a distance from the table, in front of the king and queen. The household officers of the different

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rent branches of the royal family stand behind the chair of the personage to whom they belong: the senators at his Majesty's left hand, and the ambassadors with other foreigners of distinction at his right. The king speaks to every one according to their rank, the degree of favour they possess with him, or other circumstances. The dishes are served, and the plates presented to the royal family by an officer called gentleman of the court. The marshal stands directly opposite the king during the whole of the entertainment, and the steward of his Majesty's household a little to the right behind him. Though the presence of these officers be wholly useless, it is thought necessary to complete the group. When the king has dined, he makes a sign to the queen, and to the rest of the family, and all having answered with a bow, he rises from the table, takes a most gracious leave and withdraws to his own apartments, followed by the officers of the court. The rest of the royal family do the same; no one presumes to retire before they have quitted the room. An instance of the exact formality of the court of Sweden was experienced by the Prince Bishop of Holstein, when he came to Stockholm on a visit to the royal family, to whom he is related. Before he could appear in public, he was obliged first to wait in form upon the prime minister, Prince Ulric Scheeffler, who was to present him to the king as soon as he had received his majesty's orders to that purpose. By this minister the prince bishop was, after some previous circumstances, introduced to the court, and met with a reception as distant and ceremonious as if he

had been some foreign ambassador. At the public supper he must have stood with other distinguished foreigners among the spectators, if a sudden and well-timed indisposition had not furnished an excuse for his absence. The queen dowager, however, set aside these troublesome niceties, which fettered the rest of the royal family, and treated the bishop in the most cordial manner, as the nephew of her late consort, and with those marks of esteem which were due to his personal character. In order to give him what she considered as his right, without infringing that of any one else, she ordered the places at her table to be distributed by sealed tickets. Every one that was invited drew such a ticket, and placed himself at table according to the number written upon it; but she had privately given directions that the number of the place between her and the princess should be reserved for her kinsman, and put into the hat in which the tickets were collected, after all the others were drawn out.

There is one advantage attending the Swedish court: the dress is not half so expensive as that required at other courts of Europe. With three or four suits of clothes you may appear at every drawing-room for as many years. The colour and form being once fixed, there is no admission of variation. The dress of the ladies differs but little from the present fashion in England, except that the sleeves of their gowns are cut in the Spanish manner. The colour must be always black, except on gala days, when it is white. The head-dress, ribbands, and the smaller articles of the toilette, are left to the fancy of the sex. The dress
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of the men is a compound of the Spanish fashion, and the national costume, which is followed by the peasantry in the southern parts of Sweden. Their small-clothes are cut in the common manner, as in other countries, but made of the same colour with the coat and cloak. The coat fits close to the body and is very short, buttoned quite down, and besides this, fastened about the waist with a sash. The cloak reaches below the knee and hangs loosely on the back, though it be commonly wide enough to wrap the body up in it, as in a Spanish cloak. The usual colour is black. The cloak is lined with scarlet coloured silk, made of the same stuff with the sash and waistcoat; and with the same the seams of the coat are also covered. There is a particular ornament belonging to the coat upon the shoulder, which consists of narrow pieces of the same silk, fastened upon the seam that joins the sleeve to the body of the coat. This addition makes the shoulders look broader, and often improves the appearance. I hope I shall not be blamed for introducing these remarks, as being only worthy the attention of tailors and milliners: painters, and those who are curious in whatever relates to that charming art, are also interested in them; for the dress which I have been describing, is the costume adopted by the Flemish school, and for this reason deserves to be mentioned. The Swedish government has thought proper to fix the manner of dressing, which in other countries, under the influence of commercial speculation, national volatility, and the caprice of individuals, has experienced so many changes, that it has confounded variety itself.

I will farther observe, before I quit this subject, that this mode of dress gives to the Swedish court an air of magnificence and grandeur, more striking than all the party-coloured glare that you meet with in other places; in the same manner as the imagination derives more pleasure from contemplating a military corps, in the plainest uniform, than from the sight of an equal assemblage of men apparelled in richer clothes of different hues and fashions. This court-dress, which may be considered as the national uniform, was finally established by Gustavus III.

At the same time that the most rigid observance of particular forms is exacted by the Court of Stockholm, within what we may call its own precincts, there is no country where the king and princes mix more familiarly with the people than in Sweden. This makes the contrast the more striking; for it is a very different thing to be admitted to the private suppers given by the king, and the other branches of the royal family, and to stand as a spectator at the public exhibition at court. The king gives suppers in a domestic and friendly way, twice, and sometimes three times a week. On opera days these parties are at the royal apartments in the opera-house: on other days, at an elegant palace called Haga, or the Hague, not quite a Swedish mile distant from the north-gate of Stockholm, situated on the border of a lake in the midst of a wood; this was the favourite residence of his late majesty. It was in a small pavilion, in a corner of the gardens of Haga, where the king is said to have formed the plan of the revolution in 1772; and that spot is still much visited by the curious, as
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being the birth-place of a great enterprize. Foreigners who have been invited once to the king's private suppers are, for the most part, honoured with a general invitation. The king usually seats himself between two ladies at a corner of the table. At Haga no swords are worn, though the gentlemen are otherwise dressed in their court uniform, which has been mentioned before. In summer, when the king resided for some time at Haga, strangers were also occasionally asked to dinner; and it was understood that they were to pass the day, and not to leave the royal company till after supper. In order to be invited to the king's table, a Swedish gentleman must at least have the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Younger officers are sometimes admitted, but this is a mark of very particular favour. At those private suppers no formality is observed even towards the royal family. The queen and the princesses used to take their places about the middle of the table without any certain rule of distinction. The two princesses give, each of them, a supper once a week, to which strangers once admitted have, as at his majesty's, a general invitation. The pages who wait at table, at all these entertainments, and who, as a badge of their office, carry a napkin under their arm, are officers of the army: these only attend upon the royal family. The servants who wait on the rest of the company are persons of low extraction, that have neither the education nor rank of gentlemen. Gustavus III. was wont to display a great portion of hilarity, conviviality, wit and humour, at his private entertainments. He made it a point to observe, notice, and

say something appropriate to every one present. The duke of Sudermania too was very attentive to the guests; but the present king, though polite and gracious, is more reserved in his manners; and on the whole the court has exchanged its gaiety, magnificence, and pleasure, for an air of retirement and insipidity.

The intercourse between the court and the inferior assemblies and circles, exhibits a singular mixture of feudal submission and veneration for the civil and military chief, and a respect for the personal rights of all classes and individuals in the nation; for although a considerable share of modern servility has been introduced, yet there still remains evident traces of that spirit of freedom and independence which distinguished the antient inhabitants of the North. These venerable relics are not quite annihilated, by the extension of Asiatic despotism, as in Russia and China. A hardy boldness of character, created by the nature of the country they inhabit, gives to every individual a sense of his own respectability and consequence, which is collectively felt and assumed by whole bodies and communities. That great poet, scholar, and philosopher, Milton, somewhere observes, that the English are free, not by virtue of their written laws or conventions, but because they are by nature a free people. Laws, when they are not maintained and invigorated by the living principle of liberty, and a sense of justice, soon degenerate into dead-letter: and, on the other hand, where that spirit is strong and active, laws and customs are changed, qualified, and meliorated in favour of humanity. The most brilliant assembly in Stockholm next to the court in full gala,

a, is that held once a fortnight in the upper-hall of the Exchange. It begins at six o'clock in the evening, and continues till ten or eleven: here you see collected all the rank, fashion, and beauty that the capital can boast of. As soon as there is a sufficient number of people assembled for country-dances the music begins. The hall is spacious enough to hold nine or ten different dancing parties. There are also two rooms for card-tables. About eight o'clock the royal family commonly make their appearance, but without occasioning any interruption in the entertainment. The queen, with her attendants, is seated in one of the balconies. The king, princes of the blood, and princesses, walk about the room and converse with the company. The king generally notices and speaks to almost every person in the same manner as in the drawing-room. He does not even pass over those that have not been presented at court, of which description are many distinguished families among the gentry, clergy, and the mercantile class, and shews them great affability; for though they are not of noble birth, yet their education and respectability in society is deemed a sufficient title to these marks of attention. They bring their wives and daughters to these assemblies, and never experience, as they might perhaps in other countries, the mortification of seeing them humbled or neglected. The Exchange assembly was at first open to all company of respectable appearance, without any other condition than that of paying for their entrance; but an incident happened which occasioned a partial alteration in this respect. This occurrence, as it serves to illus-

trate our present subject, and sets that mixture of courtly formality and royal condescension, of which we have been speaking in a strong light, may perhaps not be thought unworthy of being mentioned in this place. In the reign of the late king, the countess of Kaggyneck, wife of the Austrian ambassador at Stockholm, being entitled by her birth to be saluted on the cheek by the empress of Germany, and the princesses of the Imperial family, would not submit to any other ceremonial at the court of Stockholm. Instead of this, to kiss the hand of the queen and princesses of Sweden, she held beneath her dignity: for this reason, till these important points should be adjusted, her presentation at court was deferred. But the countess, who was young and sprightly, thought that she might at least enjoy the amusement of the assembly, especially at a time when it was expected to be very much crowded, every one being desirous of seeing the queen, who had but lately come abroad after the birth of the prince royal. She was introduced to the assembly by her husband. That she might have a better view of the room, she was placed in one of the balconies; and whether from chance or design very near the one usually occupied by the queen. The king had no sooner entered the room, than he was struck with the sight of the Countess of Kaggyneck; and considered her appearance, and the place she had chosen, as a sort of defiance to the rules of the court. He therefore commanded Mr. Plommenvelt, who was master of the ceremonies, to tell Count Kaggyneck that it was not proper for his lady, in the present circumstances, to be in the same room with
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the royal family. Mr. Plommenvelt, willing to soften the order as much as possible, went up to the count and told him in confidence, and as of his own accord, that it was not usual for persons of such a rank to appear with the royal family before they had been duly presented, and that therefore he took the liberty of advising him to consider the propriety of withdrawing, that he might not run the risk of giving offence to the king. But the count, perhaps from some private pique against Plommenvelt, answered him in a very peremptory and sharp manner, that he was not willing to receive advice from him; and thus sent him back to the king. The master of the ceremonies having failed in his well-meant intentions, now asked his majesty, whether it was his pleasure that the countess should leave the room? Being answered in the affirmative, he informed the count in plain terms of the king's orders, which were instantly obeyed. The ambassador reported the whole affair to his court, and the consequence was, that for several years the emperor had no representative at Stockholm. This mighty difference between their Imperial and Swedish majesties was afterwards accommodated when Gustavus travelled in Italy. The Emperor Joseph at Milan paid him a visit early in the morning, and waited in the antichamber till the king was risen. The first words of Joseph, who had really a great deal of wit, though little wisdom, as well as a natural sprightliness and frankness of disposition, were, "Well, you see how little I stand on ceremony." After this dispute with the count and countess of Kaggynneck, the king of Sweden gave orders that, as
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the assembly at the Exchange was frequented by the royal family, people above a certain rank should not appear there without having been previously presented at court.

Though Stockholm be at present on the whole not one of the least expensive towns in Europe, yet public entertainments are very cheap. The first places at the play-houses are to be had for half-a-crown. Admission to the grand assembly at the Exchange is at the same price, including tea and coffee, and other refreshments. The entrance to the opera costs about three shillings and sixpence. But the most agreeable place for strangers to resort to, is the club called *the Society*, which has been before mentioned. It is open at all times, and is the best regulated of all the clubs I ever knew. The house is magnificent, and furnished with great taste; neatness, elegance, and good order reign throughout the whole. At half after two o'clock you find an excellent dinner on the table; of which, however, none can partake except members of the club, and persons introduced by members, so that you always meet with good company. Mr. Martin, a Frenchman, who keeps the house, has always the best cooks in his service. There are few private families in Stockholm where you can dine better than you do at this club for half-a-crown: the wine is not included in this charge. The house contains a billiard-table, a great ball-room, a parlour where people meet for the purpose of conversation, a reading-room, where you have journals and newspapers of all countries and in all languages, a card-room, and a dining-room: all these apartments communicate with and form a suite

a suit that extends over the whole front of the building. When the doors are open you overlook the whole at one view, which has a pleasing effect. In this society all the people of Stockholm are mixed; both the nobility, gentry, and men of business. Merchants are found at the same card and dinner-table with officers of the army and country gentlemen; and there prevails, upon the whole, a pretty tolerable air of equality. Many who are house-keepers, occasionally come to the society for the sake of the company and the dinner, which are always excellent.

CHAPTER V.

Character of Gustavus III. King of Sweden—Reflections on true Glory, and the Virtues of a Patriot King—Arts and Sciences, under Gustavus—Character of the Duke of Sudermania, and his Conduct during the Regency—Animal Magnetism encouraged at Stockholm—Character of the present King of Sweden—State of Religion; the Liberty of the Press; and State of the Arts and Sciences in this Reign.

THE great object of the late king of Sweden in all his actions was to make a noise in the world. From the display of his magnificence, the shew of his abilities and talents, which he exhibited in many different ways, and from his spirit of enterprize, one would be tempted to imagine that there was scarcely any thing worth notice in Sweden that did not originate with him. He was ambitious that his reign should be signalized as the æra of arts and sciences in Sweden; as the age of Lewis XIV. was in France. Great and elevated minds are sometimes seduced from the paths of true glory, which consists in the exertion of power and wisdom for the most benignant purposes, to the pursuits of mere personal ambition. The glory of Charles XII. of Sweden was ruin to his country: so is that of most heroic monarchs. It may be considered as particular

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and extraordinary good fortune when the courage and talents of warlike princes find an object worthy of their fire and genius. Such, happily, was the destiny of Gustavus Vasa and Gustavus Adolphus, both justly denominated Great: such was that of the Princes of Orange, whose noble career was concluded by William III. king of England. But perhaps had a cause truly glorious been wanting to those princes, their natural love of pre-eminence and fame might have taken a less favourable direction. The wars of Charles XII. were originally just and honourable, but he carried them beyond the point where they ought to have ended; and from a frantic passion for military exploits, he used them for the purpose of gratifying his own inclination, and not as the means of repelling aggression, and securing his country against the injustice of its neighbours. How much more truly glorious would it have been if he had stopped in his career of victory, and given repose to his bleeding and exhausted people! The war in which Gustavus III. engaged with the Russians, and in which he certainly displayed a magnanimity and personal intrepidity in no degree inferior to those of his bravest ancestors, was provoked by the intrigues and the overbearing pretensions of the northern autocracy. But the experiment whether Gustavus, had it been in his power, would not have preferred the gratification of his own ambition to the solid interests of his country, was never fairly tried. A peace between the Russians and the Turks was unavoidably followed by an accommodation between the Russians and the Swedes, by which the latter certainly obtained the greatest share

of glory. Had England continued in her views, the king of Sweden might have been tempted to proceed farther. The ruling passion, however, of Gustavus, his secret preference of his own fame to the well-being of his kingdom, was seen even in the course of a few months after the pacification of Wensla: for he then engaged in vigorous preparations for an invasion of France, than which the march of Charles XII. towards Moscow in order to dethrone the Czar, was not more romantic. There is not a doubt but Gustavus III. would have displayed on the frontier of France all the courage and firmness of Charles XII. at Narva or at Bender: but how does such prowess, even when most successful, fade and decay when compared with the well-directed and well-tempered military skill and bravery of a prince like Henry IV. of France, who neither continued the war against Austria longer than the security of his crown and kingdom required, nor formed any new designs until he was compelled to do so by the insatiable ambition and restless intrigues of his powerful antagonists.* Personal courage, though respectable, is no uncommon quality. In the eye of sound moral criticism this virtue then only receives a bright lustre when it is employed in a just and honourable cause. This maxim indeed may be thought too obvious to be repeated; but common as it is in theory, it is by no means so generally adopted in practice as the good of mankind would require. It cannot

* At the time of his assassination he had prepared to take the field in person against the Austrians, in which his ultimate object, there is every reason to believe, was not only to secure the independency of France, but the rights of all other European powers.

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therefore be amiss to inculcate it whenever an opportunity occurs. Whether in the progress of civilization it will obtain greater influence over the human mind, and shew its blessed effects in the world to a greater degree than it hitherto has done, is an important and interesting subject for speculation. Unfortunately for Sweden it was not a Henry IV. but a Lewis XIV. that Gustavus made the object of his emulation. Aspiring with incessant ardour to an illustrious name among sovereigns, he was wont among his courtiers to make not indirect comparisons between himself and that monarch. Like him he sought to be surrounded with the splendour of literature and the arts, and studied in all things to appear a great and munificent king. Like his maternal uncle, Frederic the Great of Prussia, he was ambitious of being an author as well as a warrior. Emulating the renown of Charles XII. he threatened like him to involve his country in ruin. To poets, musicians, and painters, he extended a high degree of favour and protection. He instituted societies, and patronized learning and science: but all this did not flow from a pure desire to promote these great interests of the human species. He made those he protected the tools of his ambition and vanity. They were in fact little more than echoes of his wishes, and served as means of operating on the public opinion, and predisposing and preparing it for an acquiescence in various schemes which he had formed for the enlargement of his own grandeur, and the gratification of his ruling passions. Not even the encouragement which he gave to the fine arts was founded on any thing else than political views and selfish motives.

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His object was to astonish the nation by shows and other novelties, to dazzle the people by the splendor of his magnificence, and to engage them in pursuits of pleasure, that they might be diverted from reflections on their political subjection and degradation. He was willing to root out every sentiment of honour, and to extinguish every spark of liberty, that he might bear sway over a herd of slaves. When impartial history shall unfold the various artifices by which this prince, who was unhappily for his country, a man of unquestionable genius, attained to the accomplishment of all his ends, we shall be satisfied that he was a greater enemy to the Swedish nation than Charles XII.: for Charles left behind him, in the minds of the Swedes, a spirit of national pride as well as personal honour and self-esteem, and a satisfactory recollection of the noble exploits of their ancestors. Though reduced by him to the lowest ebb of fortune, they were animated by his name to a love of glory. They were proud of having had such a king, and wept over his memory. That of Gustavus III. is cherished at this day by none but painters, musicians, comedians, and particular favourites. As for the sciences, Gustavus III. was so far from affording them any substantial support, that on the contrary, he treated them with neglect, if not contempt. The magnificent collection of natural history made by Linnæus, was permitted to be bought by an Englishman, and carried to England.* Many of the manuscripts of the incomparable Bergmann, for want of encouragement in Sweden, were disposed of and printed in Germany..

* It is in the possession of James Edward Smith, M. D. who resides at Norwich.

It would be no improper object for philosophical investigation, to trace the progress of science under the reign of Gustavus III, and to compare this with the advancement it experienced during the later periods of the aristocratical system, or rather the system of the limited monarchy. From such an enquiry it would probably be made to appear, that neither the splendour of a throne, nor the protection of a prince are necessary, or even favourable to the promotion of science. It would be seen that the most effectual patronage of learning is that which is derived from the public at large; and that the sciences, like commerce, are always the worse for the interference of government. They resemble the sensitive plant, which shrinks from the touch of the purest and most delicate hand; but vegetates, flourishes, and perfectly unfolds itself when left alone. On entering superficially upon a comparison of the state of the sciences in the reign of Gustavus III. and during the aristocracy, I do not find any naturalist that might be ranked with Linnæus; nor a mineralogist of such distinguished merit and reputation as Bergmann; nor a linguist and antiquary that could equal the celebrated Ihre; not a mathematician to cope with Klingenshierna, the reputed inventor of achromatic telescopes; no chemist that could rival Wallerius; not a physician like Rosenstein, nor such a proficient in the oriental languages as Aurivellius. When we consider what the Swedish nobility were before the time of Gustavus III. and what they have been since his reign, we perceive at once a striking contrast. Gustavus, though certainly possessed of genius himself, had no body about him

him but insipid, and even ignorant and weak men. The nobles are now no longer actuated by their former spirit of emulation, and a desire to excel as leading men in the senate. Eloquence, with all that variety of knowledge and information which is necessary to the formation of a good orator, is no longer of any importance to them. Application to the study of general knowledge and the improvement of the mind, is suspended by the constitution of 1772; and so long as that constitution lasts, it is probable that we shall not hear of any great characters among the nobles of Sweden. The ancient senate, it is true, was corrupt, venal, and ever ready to sell itself to the highest bidder: but still, even in that very disposition to venality was contained an incentive to the acquirement of qualities and accomplishments that might lead to distinction. France and Russia purchased the men of abilities in the senate at no small price; the others were overlooked and disregarded.

Under the regency of the Duke of Sudermania, the views and system, and in a word, the spirit of the Swedish government underwent a complete revolution. Gustavus was the sworn enemy of the French revolution, and was on the point, as has been before observed, to join the arms of Sweden to those of the general confederacy: and had he lived he would at least have made a sacrifice of some regiments, and added some millions of rix dollars to that debt with which he had already burthened the nation. The regent remained neutral, cultivated a connection with France, and studied œconomy. The consequence was, that the
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discount of the paper-money of Sweden at Hamburgh, Riga, and other places, fell from twenty-five to ten per cent. This neutrality was calculated to restore to the Swedes some portion of that national character which Gustavus was at so great pains to destroy ; and that brave and honest people were again allowed to cherish the idea, and make use of the word *liberty* without giving offence. The duke of Sudermania had the good sense to form a just estimate of a nation which, in vindication of their liberty, had at different times revolted against tyrants ; and whose conduct in public affairs had on the whole been such as became an enlightened people. Men of letters and science began to lift up their voice, and their voice was heard. More freedom was granted to the press ; and though the restraints enforced by Gustavus III. were formally abolished, yet writers were not permitted to discuss matters even of a political nature without fear, and to assert the truth without restriction. This alteration was very perceptible in the trade of bookselling, which was greatly encouraged and augmented.

There is only one subject on which the Duke of Sudermania has been charged with weakness, namely, *Mesmerism*, or *animal magnetism*, the belief in which is thought by most men of learning and science, to be no proof of either good sense or an enlightened understanding. Several persons of distinction at the court of Sweden passed some time at Paris, when the doctrines and extravagancies of Mesmer were in vogue, and listened to by every body. Those that were initiated in the mysteries of Mes-

mer were obliged to pay him a hundred louis d'ors for their admittance; and as self-love is extremely unwilling ever to allow that it has been imposed upon, they were inclined to give way to the illusions, for which they had paid so considerable a sum, and endeavoured not only to work themselves into a belief that they had really made a valuable acquisition of knowledge, but exerted themselves also to persuade others of the same. Hence the progress of that abstruse science may be accounted for, which I have seen performed, and which was no where more successful and rapid than at Stockholm. A certain officer of the Swedish army contrived to attract the notice of the court inasmuch, that he was favoured in his promotion, by pretending to be particularly susceptible of the effects of animal magnetism, and by counterfeiting ecstasies and sleep-walking. When he was under the hands of the magnetiser, he would feign somnolency, then awake as from prophetic dreams, and foretell future events. He prophesied his own death, which was to take place in the first battle he should be engaged in. The credulous people in whose presence he uttered this prediction lamented his cruel fate. The courtiers made no opposition either to his military advancement or his progress in favour at court, from the soothing idea that he had but a short time to live, and would not interfere with their interests. To those whom he thought it worth his while to flatter, he predicted every thing that was good. He assured the prime minister, Count Sparre, that he should ascend to heaven like ELIJAH, without tasting death. And so ready, it is said, was this good man to believe

lieve him, that he immediately settled his worldly concerns, and never went out any where in his carriage without first saying his prayers, and making other preparations, that he might be ready on a minute's warning to proceed on his celestial journey. I will not vouch for the truth of this report; but it is certain, that the extreme credulity of the court in this as well as other things, encouraged impostors to practise all possible tricks and artifices. A young officer, who had not any friends of rank or consequence on whom he might depend for promotion, had recourse to the following stratagem for interesting the regent in his favour, and raising his own fortune. He went in the dead of the night to the royal palace of Drottningholm, and wounded himself rather severely in the arm with a pistol: immediately on the discharge of the pistol he gave the cry of murder! and persuaded every body that he had been set upon by two ruffians, who had mistaken him for the Duke of Sudermania, whom they had intended to assassinate. The duke very much affected by this incident, and at the same time moved with compassion for the poor man, who he imagined had suffered in his stead, made him a present in money, and immediately gave him a commission in his own regiment. The fraud being afterwards detected the impostor was hooted out of the army.

The present king of Sweden has adopted a mode of conduct and style of manners directly opposite to those of his uncle, with whom he has never lived in harmony. During the whole of the

regency the young king kept himself in a state of total insignificance. He never of his own accord appeared before the people, nor did any thing without asking leave of the duke: it seemed as if he considered himself as nobody during his minority, for the sole purpose of making the regent feel the whole weight of his authority, when the period should arrive of exercising it in its full extent. The leading features in this young prince's character, as I conceive, are an ambition of governing without ministers, or any interference that might fet bounds to his absolute sway, and a sincere wish at the same time to do as much good as lies within the narrow sphere of his powers and knowledge. Under the influence of two priests, and strongly impressed with an abhorrence of what is called the new philosophy, he has become a determined bigot, and hence is influenced by a superstition that throws every possible obstacle in the way of progressive improvement. Those two priests are Bishop Fleddin and Bishop M***. The first was the king's preceptor in religious instruction: he is a man of no learning, but of an aspiring temper, and ready to make any sacrifice to his private interest. The religion of Luther, under his auspices, degenerates into the rites and ceremonies of popery. It is by his advice that the soldiers have received orders on Good-Friday to turn the muzzles of their fire-arms downwards, and to have their drums slackened and deadened, as at Rome and in other catholic countries. Bishop M***, in his earlier years was a friend to democracy: he was first brought into notice by a
treatise

treatise in favour of that form of government, entitled, *De Democratia Optimo Regimine*.* He embraced the ecclesiastical profession merely from motives of interest; but afterwards became a zealous stickler for the most absurd tenets of the grossest superstition, whether it be that he has in reality become a convert to what he at first merely believed *ex officio*; or, as some people are inclined to think, from hypocrisy. He has at once signalized his clerical fervor, and displayed his own character by a *Dissertation on the Power and Influence of the Devil on the Human Body*. He proves in this book, by evidence amounting, as he says, to mathematical demonstration, not only the existence of the devil and his operations on the human mind and body, but has been so successful in his enquiries into the subject, as to distinguish the different sorts of devils, and to ascertain the means proper for putting them to flight. He has discovered that the *diabolus crinitus*, or hairy devil, may be routed by a plant called *hypericum quadrangulare*, (quadrangular St. John's wort). There is another anecdote which may serve to throw some light upon the present spirit of religion in Sweden. As far down as the reign of the late king a ceremony prevailed, which was very much at variance with the advanced state of knowledge, and with common sense, namely, that of exorcising and summoning the devil to depart from the body of an infant in the rite of baptism. For this ceremony, in the late king's reign, another was substituted less shocking to the understanding: but

* Democracy the best form of government.

but on the birth of the present king's son the old mode of exorcism was revived; and the devil was expressly ordered to quit the body of the present prince royal.

The liberty of the press in Sweden at the present moment is entirely subdued; the reign of ignorance and bigotry gains ground, and will perhaps soon be as unlimited, and produce the same dismal gloom as now prevails in Spain and Portugal. Gustavus III. while he publicly encouraged the freedom of the press, privately bound it in fetters. He liked to be thought a liberal and philosophic prince; and he did not apparently restrain authors from writing whatever they pleased: but still they were exposed to many unknown consequences, if they happened to publish any thing offensive to the court. At present a censorial commission is established, which mutilates works, or suppresses them altogether at pleasure: and what is still worse, and unheard of in any other country, when the censors have passed a work, its publication may be prohibited by the king afterwards. An instance of this kind happened during my stay at Stockholm, in the case of a work, entitled, "Thoughts on the Restoration of the Old Monarchy in France." After this statement of facts, it will not be difficult to conjecture the situation of the sciences and of philosophy in a country where such measures are pursued by the government. The contrast in these respects between Sweden and Denmark, is strongly marked by the number of journals and other periodical publications issuing from the press annually in the two countries. In Denmark I reckoned up more than twenty; but as for the neighbouring

neighbouring kingdom, I could never find in the capital, nor in all Sweden, more than two. The periodical publications of Denmark are fraught with the most liberal opinions on every subject. In Sweden publications are stopped without the allegation of any reason whatever, or on pretences the most frivolous. The Journal, entitled, "Memoirs of the Society for the Improvement of Knowledge most useful to the generality of Citizens," digested and published by a society of philanthropic individuals, which was held in great estimation by the public, was put an end to by the king: and neither the members of the society, nor the editors of the journal were ever able to obtain from his majesty any account of the cause of its suppression. Another journal, called *Extraposten*, (nearly answering to the word Courier) was silenced on account of a dialogue which it contained between Luther and the Devil, in which the latter appeared to be too good a logician. In 1798 a royal edict was issued, ordering that no periodical writings whatever should be published without express permission from the king. The only two works of the kind that at present come out in Sweden are—Journal for Swedish Literature, and a Collection of miscellaneous subjects for reading.* The first is only a catalogue of Swedish books, with critical remarks. The editor is Mr. Silverstolpe, a man of considerable learning, and of a very satirical turn. The second is a work written in a fine style and manner, and contains many beautiful pieces in literature

* *Lafning i blandade amnen.*

rature and belles-lettres, as well as philosophical essays, very free and bold for the present times and circumstances. In this journal the principal writers are, Mr. Hersparre, Mr. Leopold, and Mr. Lehnberg. It would have been suppressed on more than one occasion, if those three gentlemen had not possessed considerable credit at court, as well as influence with the censors.

CHAPTER VI.

Remarks on Academies or learned Societies—Those established by Lewis XIV. in France—Effect of Opinions and theoretical Principles upon the Fate of Nations—How far the public Opinion may be directed or influenced by learned Societies—More of the Characteristics of these Societies displayed—Academy of Belles-Lettres at Stockholm—Members of this Academy—The Swedish Academy, or the Eighteen; its Proceedings, Prizes, &c.—Members of the Swedish Academy—Account of some Swedish Poets, among whom is mentioned Mr. Torild, an Admirer and Imitator of Ossian.

THE fashion of patronizing literature and science, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when a matrimonial alliance existed between the house of Medici and that of Bourbon, was imported into France from Italy. Academies for the cultivation of the arts and sciences were instituted early in the reign of Lewis XIV. and nobly endowed with pecuniary funds, as well as privileges and honours. The vanity of the king, the sole motive of his liberality, was abundantly gratified; for nothing could exceed the obsequious adulation of the academicians. They once

had it in contemplation to propose a prize for the best treatise on the question, "By which of all his virtues was his majesty most honourably distinguished?" This act of servility, however, Lewis himself, vain as he was, had the good sense to prevent; but this meanness of the academicians was not incompatible with pride on their part. They exhibited, in their conduct, a strange mixture of obsequiousness to the court, and self-importance and arrogance in their deportment towards their fellow-subjects. Admission to the academies, particularly the grand *Academie Française*, now was made an object of ambition. Philosophy, or rather perhaps the reputation of being a philosopher, became the fashion of the day. Few were qualified to be statesmen, or hold the principal places in the gift of the crown; but all could be, or pretend to be, scholars and philosophers. Philosophy, combined with literature, but tinged with human weakness, pleased vanity, consoled disappointment, and employed sometimes as a vehicle of censure, served as an instrument of revenge. The number of philosophers daily increased. That philosophy which, under various forms, and in diverse ways, had influenced for some time the public councils, seized at last the helm of the French monarchy; and thus the folly of Lewis XIV. blindly laboured for the overthrow of the Bourbons.

There is nothing more curious in a philosophical, or more important in a political point of view, than to trace the mutual influence of events on opinions, and opinions on events. Their action and re-action on one another, the degree and manner in which

which various tenets and habits of thinking affect the conduct of individuals, it is impossible to ascertain, nor, if it were possible, would it be worth while to enquire; but the connexion between creeds and the conduct of princes, between public opinion, public spirit, and the fate of nations, is a matter of equal certainty, curiosity and importance. In every age and country a preference is given to some particular study, which not only supplants more or less other pursuits, but in a certain degree always interferes with, and in some instances even usurps the affairs of government. In the earliest stages of society the minds of men are debased by the grossest superstition. The principal concerns of savages and barbarians are managed by conjurors,* Obi-men,† necromancers, and wizards. Even after nations have somewhat advanced in civilization, the most useful as well as the noblest talents, in the general esteem, are those of divination; and in every kingdom and every government hitherto established, there has been, at least at one period, an alliance between church and state. In the first steps towards science, men are amused with the pretensions of natural magic and the predictions of astrology. Religion, in the common progression of human affairs, is taken out of the hands of mere superstition, divination explained by the principles of metaphysics, and adjusted by the rules of logic. The Veda is interpreted by metaphysical Brahmins, and the Koran by Mahomedan doctors not less subtle and discerning. The doctrines of the

* As among the Indians in America.

† As in Africa, and among the African slaves in the West Indies.

Manichæans and Gnostics, as well as those of Plato, entered early into the creeds of Christians. Aristotle, and other philosophers, directed the schoolmen; the schoolmen the church, and the church for fifteen hundred years the state, and in repeated instances the motions of armies. Mighty monarchs massacred or exterminated Nestorians, Arians, Albigenes, Waldenses, Jews, Moors, Hugonots, and Presbyterians. The protestant and the catholic faith divided Europe; and disputes about liberty and necessity among the Protestants themselves were tinged with blood. In the times of Roscelinus and Abelard, kings interfered in the dispute between the Nominalists and the Realists; an argument not yet terminated. The medical world at one period was divided between the disciples of Galen and those of Paracelsus. Those of the two former, from the pride of possession, claimed still an exclusive right to the public ear, and obtained from the court of Paris an inhibition against those of the latter; though this, like other decrees, gave way in time to the progress of opinion. It appears at first sight strange; but nevertheless nothing is more certain, than that the affairs of nations may be influenced, as we have just seen in the case of France, by institutions for the study of mathematics and belles-lettres.

Whoever reflects on the usual effect of literature and science to awaken the genius of liberty, by exciting a spirit of free discussion on all subjects, by preserving the memory of the ancient republics, by quickening the perception of right and wrong, and vindicating the dignity of human nature, will be apt to consider
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the introduction of the arts and sciences into despotic governments as a political incongruity; unless, indeed, it be the intention of the prince to ameliorate the condition of the people, and raise them gradually to a participation of political power, in proportion to their advancement in knowledge. Such, perhaps, was the intention of Peter the Great, czar of Muscovy, when he introduced arts and sciences into his vast barbarian empire; an intention which probably he conceived in his comprehensive mind, as likely to be accomplished either by himself or his successors. At the same time it was certainly a singular spectacle to see that prince caning his courtiers, and inviting his subjects to walk with him into the temple of the Muses and of Apollo. But what shall we say of Frederic II. of Prussia patronizing French literature and manners, and encouraging philosophy, and even infidelity? And what of the Emperor Joseph II. overturning religious establishments and promoting free discussion with one hand, while he subverted the privileges of his subjects with the other? The obvious conclusion is, that these and other despotic princes either were not at bottom sincere friends to the progress of knowledge, or that they did not foresee its political consequences. Nothing appears more monstrous and absurd, than to see Gustavus III. trampling on the privileges of the Swedish nation one year, and instituting academies the next; but, on a closer examination of the conduct of the Swede, we shall find that it was at least not so inconsistent as that of the German princes just mentioned. His love of absolute power was sincere; his zeal for literature and science

science affected, unnatural, and guarded. It was like the farce acted by Catharine II. when she ordered the body of Peter III. emperor of Russia, to be exposed on a platform in front of the palace, for the inspection of medical men and all the world, while centinels were placed at the different avenues for driving back any one who should have the curiosity and the boldness to approach it.

It has been observed of academics, that they are of use only so long as the encouragement they hold out is necessary to the preservation and progress of science. In times of ignorance, and abounding in prejudice, it has been said, such societies are useful as a barrier against mountebanks and other impostors, and for maintaining a due influence and authority over public opinion. But this influence and authority is the very thing to be dreaded. Governments direct the academics, and the academics the people; and thus the sciences bend under despotism: and as they are obedient to the nod, so they imitate the ways and manners of courts. They become fond of pomp and shew, and more desirous of adorning their societies with men of titles and rank than with those of genius and learning. A remarkable instance of this propensity, I have heard, happened within the memory of the present generation, where the President of an illustrious society in Europe had a throne erected for himself in place of the usual chair, with adjacent seats a little lower, for foreign ambassadors and other personages of great distinction, some on his right hand and others on his left.

The *Academy of Belles-Lettres* at Stockholm, having no other fund

fund for the prizes than the generosity of the queen dowager, by whom it was instituted, would have been dissolved at her death, if her son Gustavus III. had not taken it under his protection. He not only furnished it with a fund for various prizes every year, but also for pensions to several of the members. The province of this academy was extended by the king to foreign literature, Egyptian, Greek and Roman antiquities, the science of emblems, and the superintendancy over medals, inscriptions, and all public monuments in the kingdom. The number of members is fixed at fifty: sixteen foreign, fourteen honorary, and twenty ordinary members; the last named are professed men of letters. In the first mentioned class I find the names of the Cardinal de Bernis, French ambassador at Rome before and at the time of the French revolution, in the years 1789 and 1790; the Duke of Nivernois; P. F. Suhm, who has lately published large collections, written in Latin, of the Scandinavian antiquities; and Mr. Pallas, formerly professor in the Imperial academy at Petersburg. In the list of honorary members are to be found Count Frederic Sparre, chancellor of the kingdom. This is the same gentleman who, as was said, believed that he should mount up to heaven like Elijah, a circumstance which places his acuteness and intelligence in an unfavourable light. He is the subject of no bad, though only a punning epigram, comprised in four Swedish verses. There is a box in the opera-house called *œil de bœuf*, or *ox's eye*, in which Count Sparre sometimes sat. It is on this point that the epigram turns. Its import is this:—"Mathematicians have assumed as a maxim, that

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“ the whole is greater than a part ; but Count Sparre, seated in an
 “ *ox's eye*, demonstrates that a part may be greater than the whole.”
 His excellency Count Oxenstierna, senator, prime minister, &c.
 known in the annals of northern literature by his eulogium on
 Gustavus III. besides an Ode on Hope, and a poem entitled Skör-
 den (harvest), two pieces of great merit, Roxana, a comedy, and
 several smaller publications ; his excellency Count Duben, senator,
 minister of state, and commander of the order of Seraphim, dis-
 tinguished for his knowledge of drawings, medals and emblems ;
 Dr. Von Troil, archbishop of Upsala, author of a Voyage to Ice-
 land (the ornithologists, to pay him a compliment, have christ-
 ened a bird after his name, *uria troili*) ; Baron Lejuvuhad ; Baron
 Adlercrantz ; Mr. Mat. Benzelstierna ; Baron M. Ramel, a very
 rich landed proprietor, and a lover of the belles-lettres ; Count N.
 Gyllenstolpe ; Count C. Gyllemborg, knight of the polar star ; he
 wrote a tolerable epic poem called Tåget of ver Bält (the Passage
 of the Belt) by Charles X., a volume of fables, some of them of
 great merit, and poems, the most distinguished of which is the
 Seasons ; Mr. Steenpiper, who has translated Tacitus, a man of
 great talents ; and Dr. Olave Celsius, bishop of Lund, author of a
 History of Gustavus Vasa, and his son Eric XIV.

The ordinary members of the academy for belles-lettres, inscrip-
 tions, antiquities, &c. are, Mr. Lillie Strale, well acquainted with
 English and French literature ; Mr. Bolin, author of a History of
 the Swedish people down to the reign of Gustavus Vasa ; Mr.
 Elers, a poet ; Mr. Schoenberg, historiographer of the kingdom ;
 Mr.

Mr. Melanderhielm, a mathematician; Mr. Rosenstein, formerly preceptor to the king, and secretary of the Swedish academy; Mr. B. Ferner, preceptor to Gustavus III. when prince royal of Sweden; Mr. John Van Angenstroem, author of a Guide to the Mines for the use of travellers (he has now given up the sciences, and betaken himself wholly to agriculture); Mr. C. J. Strand, keeper of the archives of the kingdom; Mr. G. Adlerbeth, antiquarian of the kingdom, and perpetual secretary to the academy of belles-lettres (he published some wretched tragedies); Mr. A. F. Ristel, lately librarian to his majesty, a poet, and translator of several speeches in Sallust; Mr. J. H. Liden, professor of history; Mr. J. Murrberg, master of the cathedral school of Stockholm, an elegant historian (he wrote an account of Christian's residence at Stockholm in 1520); Mr. J. Hallenberg, historiographer of the kingdom; Mr. C. J. Nordin, dean and historiographer of the royal orders; he has written, in the Memoirs of the Academy, the Lives of Illustrious Swedes; Mr. F. J. Neikter, professor of eloquence at Upsåla; Mr. Porthan, professor of eloquence in the university of Abo; Mr. Everhand, professor of the oriental languages.

The regulations of this academy are much the same with those of the academy of inscriptions and belles-lettres at Paris. The new academy at Stockholm for the cultivation of the Swedish language, is likewise formed nearly on the model of the *Academie Française*, except that the number of the members of the Swedish academy is only eighteen instead of forty. *The Swedish Academy*, or,

as it is otherwise called, the *Eighteen*, was instituted by Gustavus III. in 1788. Of this academy it may be said in general, that instead of seeking, it would be sought after; instead of encouraging geniuses formed by nature, its aim and object is to create them: and certainly it must be owned that it is a nobler achievement to make something out of nothing, than to finish a work after it is begun. It holds out prizes, it is true; but it is necessary to be in favour with some of the members in order to obtain one. The merit of a composition alone is not sufficient to ensure it success; powerful recommendations and good management and address are required. The members of the academy know beforehand who is to gain the prize, because this is a matter that depends on their own will. They even lend a hand to the favourite candidate for the improvement of his essay, and keep up a correspondence with him upon the subject. It is not so much the judgment, as the inclination of the academy, that decides. Above all things, a candidate for the prize must take good care not to drop a hint of the time employed on his treatise. An author for whom the academy had destined the first prize, inadvertently mentioned in conversation that he had finished his essay in no longer a period than eight days: the consequence was, that he lost the honour he would otherwise have obtained. During my abode at Stockholm, the prize was decreed in favour of a composition entitled, "A Poem to Melpomene, or on the dramatic Art;" containing some common place observations, expressed in high sounding terms, and praising different theatrical pieces, among which there

was not one German production so much as mentioned, not even Emilia Galotti. I was greatly surprised to find that not the smallest notice was taken of Lessing, a name that it would seem difficult, on the subject of the drama, not to recollect with high esteem. But afterwards the mystery came out. I was informed that the Swedish academicians professed a contempt for German literature; and that to entertain and own any respect for it, was the sure way to incur displeasure. One might apply to these Swedish *sages* what Rousseau said to the academicians of Paris—“In your own imaginations you give lessons to and form the taste of all France: but three fourths of the people of France do not so much as know of your existence”—for they seem to be actuated by the same sort of vanity. They flatter themselves that their partiality will remain unobserved, and their decisions pass current from the mere weight of their name. This is probably too much the case; yet I am well assured, and it reflects no small degree of honour on the Swedish nation, that pieces rejected by the academy are nevertheless often read and approved of throughout the provinces.

The members of the Swedish academy are, Count Oxenstierna, mentioned among the members of the academy of belles lettres; Count Gyllenborg, mentioned above; Count Claß Fleming. When Claß Fleming took his seat among the Swedish academicians, a wag observed, that their number amounted now to just 170. How so? it was asked. Because, replied he, when a cypher is added to the number 17, the amount is 170.

C. J. Leopold, the Voltaire of Sweden. He has written many things, and all of them of great merit. His best work is his tragedy of Oden. He is an adept in several branches of literature. In the department of belles-lettres he is a despot, carrying his praise or censure to the highest extravagance. Leopold is at present secretary to his majesty, and librarian.

Mr. Blom, a senator of Stockholm, who obtained the second prize through the favour of Mr. Leopold. On this occasion a poem was written in the Swedish language, the title of which being interpreted, is, "An Epistle in Verse to those who are ambitious of immortal Fame."

Nils Sjöberg, who gained the prize of the academy several times.

Nils Von Rosenstein; Adlerbeth; and Murrberg. All three belonging to the academy of belles-lettres.

Dr. Von Wingard, bishop of Gothenburg. The bishop has the reputation of being a very eloquent and pathetic preacher: his funeral sermon on the late queen dowager, and his discourse at the opening of the diet, 1786, are still spoken of with great encomiums.

Mr. Lobeth, one of the most active managers of the theatre; Mr. Edelkranz, author of an Elegy on the death of the queen dowager, mother of Gustavus III. who rewarded him with a place in the academy. An amateur of natural philosophy: he gave the plan of the telegraph in Sweden.

Mr. Nordin, above mentioned; Mr. Silverstolpe, who more than once gained the prize of the academy for eloquence and poetry;

poetry; Mr. Ramel, the rich member of the academy of belles-lettres, already noticed; Mr. Lehnberg, a clergyman, who several times gained the prize; an imitator of the French poet Thomas—his thoughts are unnatural and far-fetched, his style turgid and bombastic; Mr. Tingstadius, professor of Upsala, celebrated in the north for his translation of the Psalms, the book of Job, and other poetical portions of the scriptures; Mr. Gyllenstolpe—this man has not written any thing; and it is commonly said in Stockholm, that it is for this reason that the Swedish academicians, out of gratitude, have admitted him into their number.

Besides the poets who are members either of the Swedish academy, or that for the cultivation of languages, antiquities, and literary talents in general, there are several others of more celebrity, or much more popular with the Swedish nation, than most of the poetical academicians, or rather academical poets. Mr. Lidner's poem on the death of the Countess of Spastara endeavouring to save her child out of the flames, and that on the last judgment, abound in sublime ideas and pathetic sentiments. Mr. Torild has written a poem on the passions, which displays an intimate acquaintance with the human mind, as well as a fine and lively imagination; yet in my judgment it will not bear a comparison with the ode of the English poet Collins, where the nicest observations on the conduct of the human heart and mind, when in a state of various emotion, are poured forth in a strain of the most charming novelty. Though the name of Collins in his own country be mentioned with respect and approbation, yet is his
fame,

same there, for ought that I could learn, far inferior to what is due, and will no doubt one day be paid to his merit. His poem on the death of Thomson may be considered as the most elegant piece of criticism, and the most feeling and tender elegy that was ever written by one poet on another. Collins, far superior to that jealousy and envy which tarnishes the minds of minor poets among his countrymen, and from which even Pope, that elegant versifier, is by no means exempt, felt what he wrote, and shewed himself at once a good and great man, and a pathetic and sublime poet. But I stray from Scandinavia, to which I return. Mr. Torild is not more distinguished by his poetical compositions than by his enthusiastic admiration of Ossian. All kinds of poetry not in the style of Ossian he utterly despises. It is needless after this observation to mention that his own poems are very much written in that style. There is nothing more natural than for a Scandinavian to have a predilection and partiality for Ossian: the valour, the virtues, and the extensive power and dominion of their princes being celebrated in the songs of that poet.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Academy of Sciences at Stockholm—The Classes into which it is divided—Some Remarks on the Distribution and Arrangement of the Sciences—Abuse that prevails in admitting as Members of Literary Societies Persons not properly qualified—A List of the Members of the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, with Observations on their Writings and literary Character—Academy of Sciences at Upsala; Royal Society of Sciences and Belles-Lettres at Gothenburgh; Society at Lund; and other Societies or Academies—Collection of Models and Machines at Stockholm—Disposition of the Swedes for the Arts and Sciences—Their National Character.

THE royal academy of sciences at Stockholm was founded in 1739. It consists of a hundred members that are natives of Sweden, and a considerable number of associates of foreign nations. Their Memoirs are published in the Swedish language at the end of every three months. A new president is chosen half-yearly. There are two perpetual secretaries; no honorary or merely nominal and useless members. The only funds of this society are the profits arising from the monopoly of almanacks, which profits amounted in the year 1800 to two thousand rix dollars. The observatory and the cabinet of natural history, with the house

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in which it is contained, belong to the academy. The former superintendent of the cabinet, Mr. Sparmann, has been set aside, and succeeded by Dr. Quenzel, a young man of great industry, to whom the academy are indebted for the new order in which the cabinet, that was formerly in the utmost confusion, is now arranged. Dr. Quenzel is a considerable proficient in natural history, and the academy could not have made choice of a more proper person for undertaking that charge.

In 1799 the academy was divided into seven different classes, and a certain number of members was assigned to each. This division of the sciences was indeed a severe trial of the abilities of the academicians. In order to make such a distribution with philosophical precision, it would have been necessary either to deduce the genealogy of all the sciences and corresponding arts, from the parental stock of common principles in the human mind; or in some other way to have made an accurate, though general classification of the various objects of truth or knowledge.

The great Lord Bacon formed a plan in his book *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, of all the arts and sciences of which man is capable, by referring them to the leading powers of the mind; memory, judgment, and imagination. This plan has been followed almost by every author that has come after him, even by the writers of the French Encyclopædia. But these gentlemen have declared, with great candour and judgment, that they experienced an embarrassment in the arrangement of their subjects, in proportion to the latitude allowed of arbitrary choice; as the different branches

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of knowledge might be referred either to the beings which they have for their objects, or to the different faculties of the soul. Difficulties attend either plan. The former involves us in an endless labyrinth, not only of *genera* and *species*, and these too the mere work of the human mind; but of individual objects not to be reduced with precision to any class or mutual correspondence: the latter implies that latitude of arbitrary choice, which the French encyclopædists have justly remarked.

The scientific academicians of Stockholm have not adopted either of these plans, but struck out a new one of their own, as is to be perceived in the following classification, which seems to rest principally on the mystical number seven. The first class have for the subject of their inquiries, *economy general and rural*. This class is composed of fifteen members. The second, consisting also of fifteen members, has for its object, *commerce and the mechanical arts*. The third class, in number also fifteen, *exterior physics and natural history*. The fourth class, likewise fifteen, *interior physics and natural philosophy*. The fifth class, in number eighteen, *mathematics*. The sixth class, fifteen in number, *medicine*. The seventh and last class, consisting of twelve members, is consigned to *belles-lettres, the history of the world, languages, and other studies useful or agreeable*.

It is evident that the whole of this arrangement is characterized by an air of inaccuracy, whimsicality and confusion. The last class is plainly contrived as a receptacle for the various subjects of investigation not provided for in any of the former divisions.

In this arrangement the same objects are presented under different names, while other departments of science are wholly omitted. What is the distinction between natural history and exterior physics? and between interior physics and experimental philosophy? Why is commerce detached from general œconomy? and why is there no mention whatever made of moral philosophy? General œconomy itself, in a comprehensive view of things, falls under the head of moral philosophy. In this part of the plan there is something extremely unphilosophical and absurd. I do not recollect an instance of such glaring neglect of the most important branch of philosophy, except one, namely, that in a famous university of England the *schola philosophiæ moralis* is appropriated to the sole purpose of lodging the Arundelian marbles, and other sculptures and statues. Finally, why set apart one class of the academicians for the improvement of history and the belles-lettres, when there was already an academy devoted to those particular purposes; and when the object implied in the title of the academy is not literature but science? It has been remarked that the grandest strokes of policy have been struck, and the most beneficial improvements in political affairs effected by the counsels and management not of diplomatists and lawyers, or professional men of any kind, but by men of the world, general scholars, and what are commonly called liberally educated gentlemen. In the same way men of liberal and unbiassed minds might afford better advice for regulating learned societies, schools, and universities, than profound scholars, whose views are narrowed by the influence of pedantry.

dantry. These never think of changing their own forms : nature, they fancy, and the course of human affairs ought to bend to their forms and institutions ; and they would deem it below their dignity to submit their established notions to experiment and observation. The plan of the national institute of France is too liberal, comprehensive and grand, to be the work of schoolmen.

The divisions of science and scientific pursuits in the academy at Stockholm appear to have been made with a view to give general satisfaction, and to open a door for the reception of all men who should be of consequence enough to add lustre to the society by their rank, or rich enough to bribe, or mean enough to gain the members by flatteries. There is not a gentleman of landed estate who may not become a member of the first class, nor a merchant who has not very plausible pretensions to be chosen into the second ; every entomologist and ornithologist, every collector of fishes or insects, may belong to the third or fourth class. By various divisions and subdivisions of the department of mathematics, any clerk or simple arithmetician, any constructor of triangles or compiler of almanacks, might have been introduced into the fifth class, if this abuse had not been resisted by Mr. Melander-Nielsen and other gentlemen of true philosophical discrimination. Thus the seventh class is open to every composer of ballads, novels, madrigals, vocabularies and grammars. The great number which compose this academy has been made the subject of much boast in Sweden. It should however be considered that the more co-

pious the number of academicians, the more the chance and probability is increased of their admitting improper persons for their associates. Weak and ignorant men, once received, are as proud (and generally more so) of the title of academicians as men who, by their talents and abilities, have risen to that honour; and while they contribute nothing to the stock of knowledge, they perplex and confound, by the capriciousness of their votes, the best laid plans for its enlargement. The number of one hundred is much too great for a country in which literature and science have made but a very limited progress. If there were only fifty acting members, and fifty honorary, that is members without votes in the affairs of the academy, there would be less room for intrigue and faction, their proceedings would be more philosophical, and their industry receive a happier direction. At present a considerable portion of their fellows consists of young men without a sufficient acquaintance with literature and science for supporting the name of academicians. For the acquirement of this title nothing more is requisite, than to be rich and to make presents to the academy. Thus I know that gentlemen have been chosen whose only pretension was that of being called a banker, or inspector of the mines. I was acquainted with some young men, the sons of members, not deficient in literature, but abounding also in wealth, who were elected merely for the merits of their fathers. Others have come under my observation, who, having made a voyage to Batavia, and sent home some birds and other productions of that island,

island, as a present to the cabinet of natural history, were on that account made academicians. Physicians in the island of St. Bartholemi have been rewarded for similar services in the same manner: even post-masters have been complimented with the title of member, merely to ensure the safe conveyance of letters and parcels. Such are the fopperies and absurdities that have been committed in Sweden by a society of philosophers! The name of academician, or fellow of a learned society, ought not to be bestowed upon any other qualification or character than that of a man of letters. But these qualities are not attached to rank and fortune, or other advantages; nor can they be created by the diploma of an academy. It is therefore ridiculous and inconsistent with good sense to place men in situations for which they are not fit. Let the academies found orders, and grant to their favourites crosses or any other particular marks of distinction; all these may be innocent: but they should not pretend, by the magic of their election, to make philosophers of men who perhaps scarce understand the meaning of the expression.

Intrigue, cabal, and envy of real merit, the little vices of some academies and learned societies, have an unavoidable tendency to expose them to the attacks of wit and ridicule. The sarcastical epigrams to which the ignorance and dulness of individual academicians have given birth in different countries, would form an excellent jest-book, and be more generally and indeed more justly admired than a great part of their memoirs or transactions. All the world knows the epitaph on Pirron:

“ Ci git Pirron qui ne fût rien,
 “ Pas même academicien.”*

The following is a list of the academy of sciences at Stockholm, in 1709.

CLASS I.

Economy general and rural.

Mr. Kuneberg, known as the author of several pieces written on the subject of public affairs during the sittings of the diets or parliaments.

Dr. Schulzenhielm, a physician, one of the best financiers in Sweden.

Mr. Liliencrantz, formerly a senator, a good financier. It was by his advice that the rix dollar was raised from the value of nine to that of eighteen dollars. He was also the projector of the new scheme adopted by government for the distillation of brandy, by which the privilege of distilling was taken from the Swedish people, and became a monopoly at the disposal of the crown. By these regulations individuals were obliged either to redeem the right of distilling their own grain by a sum of money, or to pay for their spirits double the usual price. The interest of the king was thus placed in direct opposition to that of the nation. At the same time that the price of brandy was so much raised, and farther advances were still threatened, the farmers were deprived of

* Here lies Pirron, who was nothing,
 Not even an academician.

the draff, or grains, which had been of great benefit to them in the feeding of their cattle. Such an innovation was as bold and rash an experiment in Sweden, as the suppression of religious shows and processions would have been at Rome or Naples. A general insurrection was apprehended, and the odious monopoly was abandoned. It was said by the best humoured among the Swedes, even when the popular indignation and rage against Mr. Lilienkrantz were most fervent, that he was justly and sufficiently punished for his merciless attacks on brandy by a certain domestic intemperate use of that "precious bane." Lilienkrantz has the reputation of being an honest man, and an upright magistrate.

Mr. Uglä, a collector of manuscripts and scarce books, of which he makes presents to the academy.

Mr. Hellenius, professor of Abo. He has attended with great diligence to the effects produced by intermixing the breed of different species of animals.

Mr. Græve Ehrensverd, who has published an account of his travels in Italy, written in a strange manner: his ideas are expressed in a mystical way, and as it were by hieroglyphics. He is an excellent draughtsman, and is particularly happy in caricatures. When admiral-general at Carlscrona, he was wont to draw caricatures of every one who came to visit him.

Mr. Dubb, a physician at Gothenburg, and author of a physico-economical journal, which is much esteemed.

To the first class are also affixed the names of Count Bunge, Mr. Baron Rappe, and Mr. Dahlberg.

CLASS II.

Commerce, and Mechanical Arts, or Handicrafts.

Baron Hermelin. The baron has made several journies, and at his own expence caused geographical maps to be drawn of different portions of the Swedish dominions. He entertains some ideas and projects for cultivating and peopling Lapland. At present he is employed in writing a description of that country, and its mineralogical productions. More of this worthy and zealous patriot hereafter.

Baron Ahlstromer, who has brought sheep from Spain for improving the breed of those useful animals in Sweden.

Mr. Arfvedson, a rich merchant.

Mr. Gejer, a mineralogist, who has published several memoirs on lead mines discovered in Scania. He has set up a manufactory of porcelain of an improved quality, which has been very successful.

Mr. Swab, a bergmästare, or superintendant of mines, and a good practical mineralogist.

Baron de Geer, a very rich man, and son of the celebrated Charles de Geer, who wrote a treatise on the history of insects, published in seven volumes.

Mr. Lindbom, author of a paper on the vindspet or windlass.

Mr. Garnej, author of a work highly esteemed on founderies of iron in Swedish *Masfäflere*.

To the second class also belong Mr. Berndson, and Mr. Bladh, a physician.

CLASS III.

Exterior Physics, and Natural History.

• Mr. Lidbeck, a professor at Lund. Having arrived at a very great age, he has now lost the recollection of the little knowledge of natural history that he once possessed.

Mr. Osbeck, the oldest naturalist living, and known in the learned world by his *Journey in China*, which has been translated into different languages.

Mr. Thunberg, more advantageously known to the world by his botanical descriptions of *erica*, *prosea*, *garderia*, *gladiolus*, &c. than by his *Travels to Japan*, in which his trifling observations seem to keep pace with the inequality and incorrectness of his style. He is now become a farmer; and being at the same time the successor of Linnæus in the university of Upsala, he is taken up with too many objects and branches of natural history to be great in any of them. His last productions are very inferior, and bear the marks of haste and negligence.

Mr. Sparrman, a physician, and one of the *illuminées*, or pupils of Mesmer. His name is sometimes joined to that of Captain Cook, the famous circumnavigator, though he had no connection with him, except that he sailed in the same ship. Mr. Sparrman has made himself known to the world by his *Travels in Africa*, which is but a poor work. Besides this he has published some other books and treatises, which do not entitle him to a very high rank in the republic of letters. It seems that from disappoint-

ment he has given up his literary labours, and turned his attention to another occupation, by which he may perhaps render himself more useful: this is a manufactory for making and printing linen cloth. I have noticed above that the museum of the academy was formerly entrusted to his care, but that he has been succeeded in that office by Dr. Quenzel.

Mr. Retzius, a professor in the university of Lund. He has published a system of mineralogy, by which he has acquired some reputation, though it is said to be founded chiefly on compilation. In the preface to this book he acknowledges that he is not intimately conversant with the system of Laveisier.

Mr. Odman, a clergyman, and professor at Upsala, well versed in geography, and editor of different voyages and travels. He is the author of a treatise intended to explain several passages in the sacred scriptures by the aid of natural history. He is accounted an excellent philologist, as well as a good naturalist: he is profoundly skilled in Hebrew and Arabic: he is an universal scholar, and his name is famous throughout all Sweden. Being oppressed with melancholy, he never stirs from his chamber. One day, being strongly afflicted with this indisposition, he sent to one of his friends to borrow some books of any sort to amuse him: his friend, knowing his taste, sent him a chest full of voyages and travels. He is particularly noted for a comprehensive and tenacious memory, and by means of this and his great reading, he has acquired a more accurate knowledge of many remote parts of the globe than those who have actually travelled in them. He forms
in

in his mind an abridgment of all the books he reads; and is, in short, a living encyclopædia.

Mr. Von Carlſon, who has a cabinet of natural hiſtory, which contains a great collection of ſtuffed birds. He is very converſant in ornithology. He has bequeathed by will his collection to the academy, and it is on this ground that he was choſen a member.

Mr. Hornſtedt, who has made a voyage to Batavia, and thence imported ſome natural curioſities.

Mr. Swartz, juſtly celebrated throughout all Europe as a diſtinguiſhed botaniſt. He excels particularly in the claſs of cryptogamia. To his literary merits he adds the advantage of obliging manners, and of a communicative and generous diſpoſition.

Mr. Fahlberg, phyſician to the Swediſh ſettlement in St. Barthelemi, from whence he ſent ſpecimens of natural productions to the academy at Stockholm.

Mr. Paykull. He is the author of a verſion of Anacreon from the French tranſlation, for he does not underſtand the original Greek. He has alſo published ſome theatrical pieces, viz. Odenſwarman, Virginia and Domuld, which are not thought by any one to be above, and by ſome rather below, mediocrity. The work entitled Fauna Suecia is not ſuppoſed to be entirely his own compoſition.

Mr. Afzelius, lately returned from Sicra-Leone, in Africa, where he reſided for the ſpace of four or five years: he there was the proprietor of a ſmall piece of ground, from which he was driven

into circumstances of great distress, by that exterminating rage which prevailed at that time between the French and the English. He collected objects of natural history in that country; and is going to publish a *Fauna* and *Flora Quineensis*. He is also a proficient in oriental languages.

Mr Acharius, who has published some tracts on the mosses and lichens, under the title of *Lichenographia*; in which work he is indebted to the assistance of Mr. Swartz.

Mr. Norberg; this gentleman has travelled a great deal in Russia, and is esteemed a very ingenious and skilful mechanic. He has made several improvements in the steam engine, and given other proofs of mechanical invention.

CLASS IV.

Interior Physics, and Experimental Philosophy.

Mr. Von Engeström, already noticed in the academy of belles-lettres.

Mr. J. G. Gahn, of Fahlun; he is an excellent metallurgist, and acquainted with all the principal experiments in metallurgy, as well as with books on that subject in different languages. He is the most engaging and interesting gentleman in Fahlun, on account both of his general knowledge and his polite and elegant hospitality.

Mr. Hielm, a chemist blindly devoted to the system of Bergmann.

Baron Von Gedda, formerly an accurate experimenter; but he
has

has lived till he has become very aged, till he has lost his sight ; and what is more mortifying—his fame.

Mr. J. Gadolin, a very good chemist, and author of a treatise on the elements of chemistry.

Mr. Julin, an apothecary ; his admission into the academy was the reward of his meteorological observations at Ullåborg, which were made with great diligence and accuracy : he is a good and active collector in natural history.

Mr. Bröling, who has been in England for the purpose of seeing the mines, and becoming acquainted with the methods which are used in that country of working them : he passes in Sweden for the inventor of a flexible catheter, made of elastic gum ; and also of a solution of iron for stamping names or any other mark on linen cloth, without injuring it. He imported from England the secret of pulverising Peruvian bark and other substances ; on which account it is believed he was forced to quit that country.

Mr. Edelcrantz, already noticed in the Swedish academy ; he is a kind of butt to both academies. Gustavus III. called him *Lyren-krantz* ; but the secretary of state, Schröderheim, observed, that he ought to be called *Musen-krantz*, which in Swedish implies a risible double signification.

Mr. Sjösten, a young man, as well in years as in the study of physics ; he has translated into the Swedish tongue Cavallo's *Theory of Electricity*.

CLASS V.

Mathematical Sciences.

Mr. Gadolin, bishop of Abo.

Mr. Ferner, already noticed in the academy of belles-lettres.

Mr. Melanderhielm; he has written a book on astronomy, in two volumes octavo; a course of mathematics, in several volumes not yet printed; commentaries on the theory of the moon, and several papers in the *acts* of the academy. As a mathematician, he has the character of a consummate calculator, and profound geometrician. His manners are marked by an uncommon degree of coldness and apparent indifference.

Mr. af Chapman, known as the author of experiments on the resistance of fluids, printed among the memoirs of the academy. He is considered as the greatest naval architect in Sweden.

Mr. Planman, celebrated for an observation taken at Cayana-borg, of the transit of the planet Mercury over the sun; which observation, in conjunction with that of *De la Caille*, at the Cape of Good Hope, form the basis for the mensuration of dimension in the system of the world.

Mr. Prosperin, celebrated on account of his extensive table on the distances of comets, and several memoirs published in the acts of the academy on the same subject.

Mr. Lejonmark, author of several memoirs on the construction of equations of the third and fourth degree. Not a man of genius

nus or invention, but well acquainted with chemistry and mineralogy. He is *bergråt*, or counsellor of the college of miners.

Mr. Nicander, compiler of the Swedish almanacks.

Mr. Landerbeck, author, as I believe, of a paper published in the transactions of the royal society of London, "*De Methodo inveniendi Curvas ex datis radiorum Osculi proprietatibus.*" When he was first proposed as a member by Ferner, he was rejected; but on his producing a letter of recommendation from England, as is said, he was admitted.

Mr. Nordmark, formerly professor of mathematics at Griesswalde; now professor of natural philosophy at Upsala. He is the author of several memoirs published among the acts of the academy, and of one published lately under the title of "*Lacunæ in doctrinâ proportionum Euclidæ animadversæ, expletio,*" in which he undertakes to obviate the objections of Dr. Robert Simson, professor in the university of Glasgow, to the fifth and seventh definitions in the fifth book of Euclid;* and in which he has clearly shewn that Euclid's method of treating proportions is strictly mathematical. He is one of the most learned and enlightened men in the university of Upsala: he is not only acquainted with the modern languages, and with Greek and Latin, but is also a great proficient in Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac.

Mr. Lidtgren, astronomical observer at Lund.

Mr. Schulten, professor in the military school at Carlberg: he has made hydrographical charts of the gulph of Bothnia; and

* See Simson's Elements of Euclid.

published, for the use of his pupils, elements of astronomy and mechanics.

Mr. Nordwall, one of the best mechanics in Sweden. It was under the direction of Nordwall that the famous canal of Trolhätta was completed. He is now engaged in the continuation of a work, called in Swedish *Bergverks Lexicon*, i. e. a dictionary on mines and mineralogy : it was begun by Mr. Renman, who wrote a history of Sweden, which is well known in the literature of that country.

Mr. Swamberg, secretary to the academy, a native of Torneå. He is a profound mathematician and astronomer ; a man of extensive general knowledge, and a true philosopher. He has been lately sent into Lapland to verify the observations of Maupertuis, and is at this moment employed, together with other mathematicians, in repeating the observations made by the French academicians, which were suspected of inaccuracy.

To the same class likewise belong Mr. Polheimer, a good mechanic ; Mr. Tegman, and Mr. Bouck.

CLASS VI.

Medicine.

Mr. af Acrel, esteemed the best surgeon in Sweden. He is a man of great merit ; but it is to be regretted that he has remained wholly ignorant of the discoveries that have been made in physiology during the last ten years, in other parts of Europe. The consequence of this is, that he is devoted to his own system, and
will

will admit no alteration and improvement. He is a good operator.

Mr. Schultzenkrantz, a very old man, was in his day an excellent accoucheur.

Mr. Wahlbom, a naturalist.

Mr. Odhelius; in extreme old age, he has not only survived his reputation as an operator in diseases of the eyes, but almost all recollection of his existence.

Mr. Blom, already mentioned in the Swedish academy; he is one of the superintendants of the mines at Fahlun.

Mr. Acrel, junior, nephew to the older Acrel, and as distinguished in his profession. This young man gave indications of a vigorous and inventive mind, and much was expected from the progress of years and experience. But a stroke of apoplexy in the head has obliged him to retire from business, and to abandon his studies.

Mr. Murray, a great anatomist, and professor of anatomy at Upsala: he has written a number of papers in the memoirs of the academy of sciences at Stockholm, as well as in those of the royal society at Upsala. He is possessed of an extraordinary fund of knowledge, and noted for his ardent zeal to communicate his skill and science to his pupils.

Mr. Hagstrom, a surgeon and physician at Stockholm: the best accoucheur after Schultzenkrantz. He is accounted a more learned man than the latter.

Mr. Westring, a physician at Norköping. He has published some interesting observations on the use that may be made of lichens in the production of various colours.

Mr. H. Gahn, a physician, who is at the head of his profession in Sweden in respect of the theory of physic. He is attentive to every new experiment, discovery, and improvement, and keeps pace with the progress of science.

Mr. Noezen, a physician at Upsåla, who employs his leisure hours in the study of natural history. He has given a description of some insects.

Mr. Tengmalm, a physician at Westeraas, and accounted the best practitioner in the provinces. He has furnished two very good papers in the memoirs of the academy, one on Swedish birds, and another on a woman who bred a number of flies in her nose.

CLASS VII.

Belles-Lettres, Universal History, History of Literature and other Studies, useful or agreeable.

Mr. Schonberg, already noticed in the academy of belles-lettres.

Mr. Liljestråle, a poet.

Mr. Gerfve, Count Sparre. See academy of belles-lettres.

Mr. Aldbreth, a member of the two foregoing academies.

Mr. Von Rosenstien, before mentioned in the Swedish academy.

Mr. Franc, a post-master.

Baron

Baron Renterholm, famous on account of the influence he possessed in the direction of public affairs during the regency. I know not that he has cultivated any branch of literature.

Mr. Rosenbald, a devotee, and thought to be one of the illuminati.

Mr. Silverstolpe. See Swedish academy.

Mr. Ekel: the best chemist in Sweden.

In this academy we also find the names of Mr. Zetzel, Lagerheim, Ofverbom, Schultzenheim, and Rosenhane.

Besides the literary academies, of which I have given an account in the foregoing pages, there are some others in Sweden, viz.

1. The royal academy of sciences at Upsala, whose transactions are written in Latin.

2. The royal society for the cultivation of sciences and belles-lettres at Gothenburg, which has published some memoirs.

3. The royal physiographical society, which was instituted at Lund in 1776, and incorporated by the king in 1778. The papers, which this society has given to the world, relate only to the natural history, chemistry, and agriculture of the province of Skåne or Scania.

4. The society of belles-lettres, natural history, and rural economy at Carlstadt.

5. The academy of belles-lettres at Åbo.

6. The Finlandish society for rural economy.

7. The patriotic and agricultural society of Stockholm.

8. The academy for painting and sculpture at Stockholm.

9. The society for the instruction of fellow-citizens at Stockholm.*

The academy of sciences hold their meetings in the Observatory, which is a lofty and beautiful edifice, situated on an eminence at the extremity of the city, and furnished with a great number of excellent astronomical instruments of all sorts. There is nothing by which the genius of the Swedes is more distinguished, than a happy turn for mechanical improvement, which is called forth and encouraged by their mines. It was by means of instruments made at Stockholm, that the Swedish astronomers detected certain inaccuracies in the observations made by Maupertuis. There is at Stockholm, in an ancient palace where the courts of

* On the subject of the actual state of literature in Sweden I ought to take notice of men of letters, of distinguished talents and accomplishments, who are neither members of academies, nor professors in universities. Perhaps I ought also to mention strangers who, from the circumstance of being established in some of the public offices at Stockholm, have an opportunity of contributing either directly or indirectly to the advancement of literature and science. But such persons, retired from the pomp and parade of learning, have a right to be protected under the shade of their philosophical retreat. As they are not ambitious of public praise, so neither ought they to be dragged forth into public criticism and censure. I cannot, however, avoid naming Mr. Catteau, a minister of the calvinistic persuasion at Stockholm, author of a book called *Tableau de la Suede*, a Picture or a View of Sweden, which has been translated into English. Mr. Catteau has a true and genuine taste and turn for literature. Avoiding the noise of an ostentatious though lazy society, he divides his time and his cares between his parochial duties and his studies, and has been employed for these last years in statistical enquiries concerning Denmark and Sweden. His work will be the most complete that we have of the kind, and will serve as a model in that species of composition. It was printing at Paris and one volume of it had appeared when this was written.

justice are now held, near the church of Riderholm, a cabinet of models, or repository of machines, the most complete collection of the kind that I have ever seen or heard of. The models relate either to new inventions, or to improvements in machinery; they are kept in a spacious room, and arranged in a very proper and elegant manner. Among the models for rural oeconomy you observe different kinds of mills, instruments for sowing grain, for shearing or cutting, and gathering the crop, and also for threshing it; hydraulic machines, stoves used in the mines, and pumps, with their apparatus and mode of working them. It may seem scarcely credible, even almost miraculous, yet it is nevertheless true, that the Swedes have invented a mechanical overseer, one who performs more faithfully, diligently, indefatigably, accurately, and more equitably to both parties, the employers and employed, the duties of superintendant of workmen. A considerable part of the labour in the mines consists in working the pumps, therefore a clock has been invented for marking the number of strokes given by the pumps; hence the precise proportion of work they have performed is easily ascertained. Here too are models of light-houses, and various methods of making signals to navigators; a chair in which a person may conveniently move himself from one place to another; an instrument which shews the line of direction taken by a ball when discharged from a cannon or mortar: but it would be endless to enumerate all the ingenious contrivances that may be surveyed in this curious depository. They are many of them the works of the celebrated engineer and mechanic Polheim.

theim. This cabinet is open to the inspection of every body; but if you wish to see it alone, or without being interrupted by a crowd of spectators, a gratuity of about an English shilling given to the door-keeper will procure you this favour. My inspection influenced me to remark, that many mechanical inventions and improvements, which are produced to the English nation as new, may be found to have originated in Germany, and to have been previously known in Sweden. This should put the people of England upon their guard not to betray their ignorance in giving approbation and patronage to things that are borrowed from other nations, and held out to them as inventions. That favoured country possesses so much original genius, and has been the fountain of so much excellence, that it is vain, foolish and superfluous in its inhabitants to plume themselves on mechanical novelties first brought to light in other nations.

Although it must be confessed, that the Swedish academies are not altogether formed on plans that stand the test of philosophical scrutiny, yet it cannot be denied that there is notwithstanding in Sweden, and even in the academies, much genius and industry directed to useful purposes, and productive of the best fruits. The original intention of those institutions certainly was good, though they were afterwards perverted and abused; for when men meet and converse freely together, they have an opportunity of comparing their ideas, of confirming their opinions when right by the observations of others, or correcting them when wrong by their criticisms. Different notions are started by different

ferent people on the same subject, which singly might be of little use; but when collected and concentrated may lead to important consequences: hence enquiries are set on foot, analogies are discovered, theories formed, and science is enlarged. Besides this, it is of great advantage for individuals to be sometimes interrupted in the monotonous train of their own ideas, and to have them intermingled and varied by the conceptions of others. This acts upon the mind as a stimulus, and produces vigour and acuteness; whereas a dull uniformity slackens its efforts. On the subject of literary societies it may be farther observed, that there is in every human creature a desire to be regarded by his fellow-men with complacency and respect, and a propensity to invite the sympathy of our neighbours with our emotions of admiration, wonder, surprise, and aversion. Hence the advantage of possessing a respectable and congenial circle, ready to attend to our discoveries and lucubrations, is a powerful incitement to inquiry of various kinds, and to constant and accurate observation; and the weight of study is relieved by social delight. But the advantages of such societies are not confined to entertainment, or to pleasure mixed with instruction. They likewise have a happy moral effect: they abstract men of leisure from frivolous or pernicious amusements; they fortify every humane sentiment, every virtuous purpose, and every laudable pursuit. Such is the natural tendency of literary societies drawn together, as they at first commonly are, by private friendship, similarity of sentiments, and a genuine desire of information and improvement; and it is commonly in their first stages that

that they are most flourishing. When they are more and more extended, when numbers of strangers are introduced, when they are honoured with public celebrity, and the countenance and interference of kings and princes, simplicity and sincerity of intention, mutual goodness, and a love of truth, are exchanged for vanity, pomp, and faction.

There is, perhaps, no country in Europe where instruction is so universally diffused among the very lowest of the people as in Sweden, except Iceland, Scotland,* and the late small republic of Geneva. All the people in towns, villages, and hamlets, without exception, are taught to read. It was not without reason, therefore, that Gustavus III. who kept a watchful eye on every event that might influence the state of society, interdicted all mention in the Swedish journals of a French revolution, either good or bad. He wished the people not only to be prevented from thinking of it, and reasoning about it; but as much as possible to be kept in the dark as to its very existence. The effects to be desired or dreaded in any country from the productions of the press, are, no doubt, in proportion to the degree and extent of education which the people at large have received. It does not follow, from the circumstance of the Swedes being all taught to read, and attached to

* In Scotland I find there is scarcely any person, no not even a beggar, who cannot both read and write; nor any in Iceland who cannot read, write, and cast accounts. In every family in Iceland the children are instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, at home, by their parents or other relatives. When the boys are sent to school it is to acquire Latin, and other accomplishments, such as some knowledge of geography, and of the elements of mathematics.

established tenets and modes of worship, that they should be an honest and good sort of people: this however is the case. The Swedes, I mean the peasantry, (for as to the inhabitants of towns they are corrupt in proportion to their population, their commerce, and their luxury) are a frank, open, kind-hearted, gay, hospitable, hardy, and spirited people. It would be difficult to point out any nation that is more distinguished by a happy union of genius, bravery, and natural probity of disposition. They are represented by their neighbours as the *gascons* of Scandinavia. This charge, when due allowance is made for the mutual jealousy and antipathy of neighbouring nations, amounts to no more than this, that they are actuated by that sensibility to fame, and love of distinction, which generally predominate in the breasts of brave, generous, and adventurous people.

CHAPTER VIII.

Institutions for the Purposes of Education in Sweden: Parish Schools, Public Schools, Gymnasia, and Universities—Account of the University of Lund—The Professors and Students: the Method of teaching, and the Things that are taught—The University of Upsala—Some Intelligence of the individual Character of several Professors—The University of Abo—General Remarks on the Swedish Universities—Gustavus III. enters the Prince Royal at the University of Upsala.

THERE is certainly no country in the world in which greater provision has been made, and more pains taken for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge among all classes of society, than in Sweden: a proof at once of a liberal and enlightened turn of mind, and of that respect for the dignity and rights of human nature, which compensates to rude climates the want of many blessings enjoyed in more genial and productive regions. That this praise is not bestowed on the Swedish nation without reason, will appear from a general view of their institutions for the purposes of education and instruction, which are known by the names of schools, gymnasia, and universities.

Every parish has its school, in which the common rudiments of reading

reading and writing are taught. Besides this, there is a public school maintained in every large town at the expence of the crown, in which the boys continue till about their eleventh or twelfth year, when they are commonly sent to one of the gymnasia. These also are public schools, but upon a larger scale than the former; and one of them exists in almost every province. From the gymnasia the young men, at the age of seventeen or eighteen, proceed to one of the universities, and for the greater part to Upsala. In the gymnasia, and many of the greater schools, they are not only instructed in the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, but in the principal doctrines of theology. These *schola illustres* and gymnasia, are under the care and inspection of the bishops of the respective dioceses in which they are established, and where the bishops constantly reside. The bishops, accompanied by some of the inferior clergy, and others, visit and examine the schools publicly at fixed periods. The course of education, and the books read, are not left to the discretion of the teachers, but prescribed by public authority. At Stockholm there is a German school, which is placed under the inspection of two German ministers of the gospel. In this seminary the pupils are instructed in Grecian, Roman, and modern history, geography and religion. The Swedish gentlemen are seldom contented with what may be called a scholastic, or a gymnastic education, but proceed either from one of the greater, or, as they call them, the illustrious schools; or more generally from one of the gymnasia to the university. The sons of wealthy tradesmen too, and peasants, have very frequently

the advantage of an university education. If any of the youth whose circumstances might not admit of an university education, give indications of fine parts, and a genius for any department of science; the inspectors, who are in general allowed to discharge their duty with great diligence and fidelity, make a report of him to the king, who then orders that he may receive an education suitable to his talents and his merit. I may take this opportunity to observe, that the Swedish clergy are for the most part regular and decent in their deportment, and attentive to the duties of their office.

In the Swedish dominions are three universities, that of Upsala, that of Lund, and that of Abo. Following, as ought to be done in a book of travels, the geographical order of the places, I begin with that of Lund, the capital of Scania, esteemed the most ancient town in Sweden. It is situated about sixty Swedish miles* to the south of Stockholm, and sixty-seven of Upsala. It is the residence of an archbishop. The climate is remarkably salubrious; the country around being plain, presents in an open and extensive view a horizon well adapted to observations in astronomy. Across the arm of the sea which divides Sweden from Denmark, you see Copenhagen and the Danish shores. The professors in the university, including *adjuncts*, or assistants, are in number more than fifty; the students in common years three hundred. The library contains above twenty thousand volumes. There is also a botanical garden at Lund, but of no celebrity; the

* The Swedish mile is nearly equal to seven English miles.

number of plants does not exceed one thousand two hundred. It was in the university of Lund that Linnæus, under the countenance and tuition of professor Stobæus, acquired his first ideas of his arrangements in natural history; and he lived to see his favourite study beginning to flourish in that seminary, under the influence of one of his own pupils. Before this dawn, we find him in his writings expressing his wonder, that in a situation much more favourable than that of Upsala, as being four degrees more southerly and westerly, the garden of Lund had not risen to some eminence. The university was established in 1688, by Charles XI. and called after his name—*Academia Carolina Gothorum*. The professorships are divided into four classes or faculties:—1st. Theology; 2d. Jurisprudence; 3d. Medicine; 4th. Philosophy: to which there has been added a fifth class of professors, under the name of *ARTIUM CULTIORUM MAGISTRI*, or *Professors of the more elegant Accomplishments*, viz. of fencing, music, dancing, and drawing. In theology there are three professors, and two professors extraordinary, besides what they call two *magistri docentes*, or private teachers, whose business it seems to be, not only to instruct the students in divinity and ecclesiastical history, and to expound to them some portion annually of the sacred scriptures; but also, in an easy and familiar manner, to solve their doubts by an explanation of any difficult point in the Bible, or any other subject that the students may wish to have illustrated. In like manner the assistant professors in the other faculties, in this as well as in the other Swedish universities, are always ready to answer

answer any questions that may be put to them by the students, whether in the lecture-room or privately. The professors most distinguished by academical ardour encourage such questions very much, and are highly delighted when they find in them proofs not only of diligence, but of genius; for, not to take for granted every thing that is given out, but to hesitate, to doubt, and to start difficulties, is so far to be considered as a mark of genius, as it shews that other powers of the mind are at work besides mere conception and memory. I have been told by different persons, both in Ireland and Scotland, that the celebrated Hutchinson, professor of moral philosophy in the university of Glasgow, and author of a book on morals, which makes all virtue to consist in benevolence, prompted by a moral sense, was wont to live, as it were, and converse with his pupils, as if they had been his equals and companions. There was never a day that passed when he did not walk even for hours in the college gardens with some of his students, of whose capacity he entertained a good opinion, or with one that chose to converse with him, and ask any question. In the evenings, in like manner, he always had a number of them at his house.

The science of theology, if it admits of any progressive improvement, has certainly experienced none in the university of Lund, where orthodoxy reigns in its most rigid form. The caliph Omar was not more firmly persuaded that every thing necessary or proper to be known by man was contained in the Koran, than the professors of divinity at Lund are, that there is nothing

nothing on the subject of theology to be added or desired, beyond what has been taught by Luther. Dr. Hylander, one of the professors extraordinary of divinity, teaches the Greek and oriental languages.

In the faculty of jurisprudence there are two professors, one assistant, and one *magister docens*, or private teacher. Professor Tingwall is known in the north by his system of jurisprudence, published in the Swedish language, and by the industry and zeal with which he discharges the duties of his office. The other professor, Laurence Munthe, is esteemed a man of considerable learning in his profession.

In the medical class there are three professors, Dr. Wollin, Dr. Barfoth, and Dr. Engelhart; and two assistants, Dr. Floriman and Dr. Munck.

Dr. Barfoth, professor of anatomy, travelled in England and part of Scotland.

Dr. Engelhart, professor of the theory and practice of medicine, is first physician to the king. He is considered as a man of the world rather than a man of letters; and in return, he treats men who are only men of letters and science, and not conversant with the great world, in a very haughty and supercilious manner. His academical lectures may be deemed rather compilations than original productions, and are chiefly recommended to the attention of the auditors by an easy and agreeable elocution. The Doctor travelled both in France and England.

Dr.

Dr. Floriman teaches osteology, materia medica, and the veterinary art.

The province of Dr. Munck is chiefly pathology.

In the faculty or class of philosophy there are seven professors, and fifteen assistant professors. The professors give lectures on mathematics, algebra, astronomy, natural history, civil history both ancient and modern, and history of literature: the Greek and oriental languages, botany, georgics, or rural oeconomy, the law of nature and nations, metaphysics, &c.

The professorial assistants, besides the elementary and most useful parts of natural science, such as geography, the elements of botany, horticulture and other branches of georgics, teach a kind of logic, which they define to be a branch of theoretical philosophy; that is, they teach to make syllogisms, modes, and figures, and all the old machinery of disputation: but the chief business of these assistants seems to be, to explain with philosophical and critical remarks the Greek and Latin classics. They answer in a great degree to what in some countries are called, professors of humanity. They also profess to lecture on the history of moral philosophy; of which however they do not seem to make any great account. In a prospectus of the lectures that were to be read, I find the following notice—"Laur. P. Wählin N. Mag. Hist. Litt. docens, fata philosophiæ moralis futuris auditoribus enarrare sibi proposuit."* I could not learn that they

* "Laurence Wählin, master of philosophy, and teacher of the history of literature, proposes to give an account to those who may choose to hear him, of the history of moral philosophy."

enter at all deeply, at this university, into the question concerning the foundation of moral obligation. They certainly do not keep pace with the vicissitudes and progress of the various opinions on that subject. All that is good for any thing in moral philosophy is contained, as they suppose, in Cicero de Officiis and Puffendorf. I am inclined to suspect that moral philosophy at Lund is regarded with an evil eye, as being in some respects inimical to the tenets of Luther. I have not been able to discover that this subject is very much attended to in many Catholic or Lutheran, or in other words in many Episcopal universities.

The professors in philosophy are,

Mr. Lidbeck, already noticed among the members of the academy of sciences.

Sommelius, heretofore librarian: he has published a Greek grammar in Swedish, and a great number of academical dissertations.

Matthias Norberg, professor of Greek and oriental languages, a member of the philosophical society of Gothenburg, and a correspondent member of the museum at Paris. He travelled with the celebrated Biörnsthål, in Greece, Turkey, Italy, &c. He has introduced a new mode of pronouncing Hebrew, and a new method of acquiring that language with facility. His mode of pronouncing Greek, though generally deemed new, was formerly adopted by Reuchlin, who maintained a dispute on that subject with Erasmus, whose pronunciation is still retained at Upsala. It would, in my opinion, be difficult to specify any object of literary investiga-

tion more useless or uncertain than an enquiry into the exact mode of pronouncing dead languages. Mr. Norberg is undoubtedly a man of genius, as well as of industry and learning. He has published a *Codex Syriaco Hexaplaris*, with a Latin version, and a great variety of academical treatises, relating chiefly to the eastern nations, their manners and customs, of which he is a great admirer; their gods, laws, &c. and all in a style of pure latinity, formed chiefly on that of Tacitus.

Matthew Frémling, professor of theoretical philosophy. He has published a piece entitled, "An Enquiry into the Arguments of Mr. Kant in favour of the existence of God, and of the Immortality of the Soul;" with some theological essays. His best works are, his Dissertations on Space as it is conceived by Kant. He possesses great acuteness of mind, as well as a fine imagination, and fluency of expression, and has the talent of diffusing an interest and animation on the most abstruse subjects. He has been engaged in several literary controversies with the present bishop (formerly professor) Munthe, a follower and commentator of Kant's system.

Retzius, professor of natural history, chemistry and œconomy, above noticed.

Tegman, professor of mathematics, esteemed a very good teacher.

Lundbald, professor of poetry and eloquence. He gained the prize in the academy of belles-lettres by a poem on the victory of Charles XII. at Narva. He is a great Latin poet, and indeed the only one in Sweden.

Sjöberg,

Sjöberg, professor of history, author of dissertations on Swedish antiquities.

In the Swedish as in the German universities, there is an order of graduates called doctors of philosophy. It may serve to throw some light perhaps on the state of philosophy in Sweden, to mention the manner in which they obtain their degree. They first undergo an examination on the subject of divinity, and afterwards on that of Latin. Having gone through these examinations, they are examined a second time on the subject of Latin, and some questions are put to them by all the ten professors. They then defend some thesis of their own composition, and without any farther ceremony are made doctors of philosophy. There are two printing offices in Lund.

The students of the university of Lund are in general not of the first and richest, but the poorer classes of society: they had the character of being very riotous, and frequently shewed that kind of unruly spirit by which, as I understand, the Eton and Westminster scholars have upon some occasions distinguished themselves. Of late, however, the manners of the Lundians have become more gentle and refined, and that refractoriness and defiance on which they formerly prided themselves, is gradually softened into decency and tranquillity, such as becomes the friends of the muses. A society or club has been established for purchasing the periodical publications of foreign countries, among the professors and students, which brings about a sort of connection that is very advantageous to the former, and occupies their attention

by a rational amusement. The vicinity of the sea, and an easy mode of intercourse, enables the inhabitants of Lund to keep up their acquaintance with Denmark and Germany, and to observe and benefit by the progress of literature in these countries.

In this, as in the other Swedish universities, catalogues in Latin are published of the subjects to be treated, and the books to be explained and commented on by the different professors, assistant professors, and other teachers in their lectures. It may be amusing to our classical readers to see some specimens of the Latin advertisements by which, in those lists, the different masters invite not only regular students, but it would seem every other person, to avail themselves of their lessons and instructions. I have therefore subjoined a few of these notices, not only by the professors of Lund, but those of the two other universities.* The different

* UNIVERSITY OF LUND.

Eric Gustaf Lidbeck, histor. natur. & œcon. prof. &c. &c. Prælectionibus publicis brevi cursu mineralogico absoluto, plantas officinales vivas variasque in œconomia utilissimas, herbas, arbores, & frutices, proponere in animum induxit. Privatim desiderantibus se accommodabit.

Matthæus Fremling, philos. theor. prof. reg. & ord. Psychologiam publicè, horâ a. m. VIII. tradet. Privatam operam præceptis logicæ, & ontologiæ, hora p. m. II. III. impendere statuit. Neque vero iis deerit, qui celeb. Kantium philosophantem audire velint, summam libri, qui inscribitur *Critik reinen Vernunft* propositurus.

Christopherus Porath, subcenturio & palestræ academici præfectus, spondet se libenter satisfactorum omnibus iis ex studiosâ juventute, qui suam in arte nobili arma feliciter tractandi, & strenuè vibrandi expetunt manuductionem.

UNIVERSITY OF UPSALA.

Petrus Nicolaus Christiernin, phil. et I. U. Doctor, logices et metaphysices professor, &c. &c. Fundamenta et elementa theologiæ naturalis, methodo thetico-

lecturers are generally absolved in the space of half a year ; so that there are two courses in the whole year. The first course begins on the 1st of February and concludes on the 16th of June ; the second commences the 1st of October and ends the 16th of December.

The celebrated university of Upsala was founded under the government of the administrator Sten Sture the elder, in 1346, with the permission of Pope Sixtus IV. on the model of that of Bologna, and with all the privileges of the university of Paris. The muses of Upsala betook themselves to flight at the Reformation, with the priests of the Roman Catholic religion, but were invited back by Gustavus Vasa, who conferred on the university

thico-polemicâ publicis lectionibus hoc anno tradere constituit ; privatam quoque operam auditorum desideriis accommodabit.

Nicolaus Ristél, artis saltandi magister, musicos ad sonos docebit juniores non modo apte componere pedes, sed et decoros gestus corporisque habitum politiorum inducere.

UNIVERSITY OF ABO.

Gabriel Ericus Haartman, M. D. med. pract. profess. &c. &c. Medicinam popularem publicis lectionibus ea explicare constituit methodo, ut non minus artis salutaris alumnis, quam etiam aliis earum rerum curiosis fiat utilis : privatim autem, pathologiam generalem, et specialem alternis pertractabit horis.

Georgius Danet, linguæ Gallicæ magister, diebus mercurii et saturni hora II. p. m. librum cui titulus *Les Aventures de Telemaque*, publice interpretabitur : studiosis privatim in linguâ Gallicâ institutionem desiderantibus haud defuturus.

Olavus Levin, artis saltatoriæ magister, operam suam in arte saltandi expetentibus facilem et indefessum se præbebit ducem.

Johannes Thorberg, director musicæ et organi ad templum cathedrale Aboense, musicam publicis concentibus, diebus mercurii & saturnii, horâ III. p. m. habendis docebit : privatam quoque institutionem expetentibus suam haud denegabit operam.

where

where he received his education so many additional privileges, and endowed it so liberally, that he has been justly called its second founder. Besides erecting a large building at his own expence, he settled on the university his patrimonial estate of Vasa, by which donation the salaries of the professors were augmented, and one hundred and fifty students maintained. His example was followed by his successors, as well as by private individuals; and as the funds have become more considerable, the number of scholars supported by them has increased in proportion. It reflects great credit upon this university, that the professors faithfully apply the revenues to the objects of their original destination, viz. the improvement and diffusion of knowledge. At the head of the university is a chancellor, who is always a person of the first rank and consequence, and generally one of the royal family. The dignity is conferred by the election of the professors, and confirmed by his majesty. The chancellor regulates and explains the statutes, composes any material differences or disputes that may happen, and delivers all petitions and messages from the university to the king. In his absence, his place is supplied by the archbishop of Upsala. From the body of the professors, or from those of them that are capable of the office from their situation in the university,* is annually chosen a *rector magnificus*, who is a species of magistrate that can punish the students for small delinquencies by fine or imprisonment, and whose jurisdiction over them extends six leagues around the city. The professors are exceedingly nu-

* These are called *viri rectorales*.

merous. In the branch of theology there are six professors, three assistant professors, and three private teachers or *magistri docentes*: of law, two professors and two assistant professors: of medicine, three professors and two assistant professors: of philosophy, ten professors and twenty assistant professors: of genteel exercises, seven under the name of *artium equestrium et cultiorum magistri*, viz. a riding master, a French master, a dancing master, a drawing master, a music master, a fencing master, and a master of the German and the English languages. Concerning some of the professors of Upsala, I believe the following information may be relied upon:

Neikter, royal professor of eloquence and poetics, has the reputation of having read and remembered an immensity of history without being a good historian. He can read and remember, but not digest and combine. He has adopted the philosophy of Kant, and is a zealous propagator of the new doctrine.

Afzelius, professor of chemistry, is in Sweden esteemed a fine genius, but said to be extremely indolent. He is one of the ablest supporters of the antiphlogistic chemistry.

Aurivillius, librarian and professor of humanity, or *literæ humaniores*, is remarkable for the excess of his bigotry, and the impediments he constantly endeavours to raise, as far as his opportunities and abilities extend, to the advancement of knowledge.

In direct opposition to Aurivillius, stands Tingstadius, D. D. professor of oriental languages, who has laboured with considerable success to introduce into the university liberal sentiments on subjects of religion.

Christopher

Christopher Dohl, professor of Greek, learned in his profession, and a man of fine taste: he is esteemed one of the best latinists in Sweden.

Abraham Almquist, teacher of theology, is a man of a very philosophical turn of mind, and has closely followed the progress of knowledge even in her latest steps. Almquist, though a teacher of theology, takes great delight in propagating all the modern discoveries of philosophy.

Hoijer, assistant professor of moral philosophy, is very accurately acquainted with Kant's system, and esteemed one of the most acute and discerning reasoners in Sweden. He has published a book to shew the possibility of constructing philosophical ideas, and thus forming an universal language.

In the catalogue of their lectures at Upsala for 1795, I noticed that Mr. Hoijer undertook to unfold the principles of moral obligation—*fundamenta philosophiæ morum exponere conabitur*. In the same catalogue Daniel Boethius, professor of ethics and politics, engages to explain the fundamental principles of moral philosophy, and to give a philosophical account of moral sentiments.* The attention that is paid to moral philosophy, and in general to psychology, in the university of Upsala, will not appear less manifest from an advertisement by the assistant professor of moral philosophy, Mr. Steinhammer, who intimates that he means to assume for the theme of his lectures, *the history of man*. Nothing can be

* *Fundamenta philosophiæ moralis eruet, ideas morales philosophicè enodatas exponet.*

more profound than on the subject of ethics to take a general view of the sentiments, passions, and principles of mankind, as unfolded and displayed in history, the great theatre of dissection in moral anatomy.

The professorships of Upsala are in the gift of the king. The salaries annexed to them are from seventy to one hundred pounds per annum. During each term the professors give four public lectures in the week gratis, and the same number of private lectures; for the latter they are paid by the students, though the money that is given is very trifling. A professor who has continued in office for thirty years is allowed to retire with the title *emeritus*, and enjoys his salary during life. In former times the universities often were crowded with thousands of students: even so late as the year 1730, that of Upsala contained above two thousand. It is a striking proof of some great revolution in the sentiments, views and pursuits of the Swedes, that the annual number of students at Upsala does not now on an average exceed five hundred. They do not inhabit any distinct colleges, there being no buildings for their accommodation, but lodge, as at Edinburgh and Glasgow and some other protestant universities, in the town. They attend the lectures which are given by the several professors either at their own houses, or the public halls appropriated to such purposes. Besides the royal stipendiaries or pensioners, or, as they are called, *burfars*, there are other poor students, who are assisted in their expences by funds established by private persons, but generally allotted to family names, or the natives of particular pro-

vinces. The highest of these scholarships amount to the value of fourteen or fifteen pounds per annum. The students of Upsåla are not given to riot and rudeness, but in general pursue their studies with decency and diligence. This university is not without justice accounted the first seminary of the North, and has produced from time to time men eminent in every branch of the sciences. The famous botanical garden is small, but laid out with judgment.

The university of Åbo was founded in 1640, by queen Christina, and endowed with the same privileges as that of Upsåla. Of theology there are three professors, and one assistant professor: of law, one professor: of medicine, three professors, and two assistant professors: of philosophy, nine professors, and three assistant professors. In the faculty of theology there are, besides the professors, two teachers, or *magistri docentes*; in that of philosophy, besides the professors, nine teachers. Of elegant and genteel accomplishments, there are four professors, or *artium cultiorum magistri*, viz. a French master, a dancing master, a fencing master, and a music master.

On the Swedish universities in general, it is to be observed, 1st, That the number of professors, assistant professors and teachers, called *magistri docentes*, bears a greater proportion, if I am not mistaken, to the population of Sweden (which does not exceed three millions) than that of any other country in Europe, to the number of its inhabitants. 2dly, That although poetical divinity and the logics of Aristotle, with corresponding and nugatory dis-

putations,

putations, still maintain their ground, yet much of industry and genius are employed in the cultivation of real science, and the pursuit of objects which are of great importance and utility. 3d. That a very proper degree of ease and familiarity appears to subsist between those who teach and those who are taught; and that the former are ever ready and desirous of conveying information in the most perspicuous and effectual manner to their auditors: they invite them to state their doubts and difficulties, to put questions, and even to name any author they wish to be explained, or subject they wish to be discussed.* 4th. It is peculiar, as far as I have been informed, to the Swedish universities, to admit fencing and dancing into the number of the polite or liberal arts. In this the Swedes are in the right. Both are evidently reducible to principles and theory, and can therefore claim the title of art. The dignity of dancing, which may justly be reckoned among the imitative arts, as well as music and painting, is very ably maintained and illustrated by the late celebrated Dr. Adam Smith, in his posthumous *Essays on Philosophical Subjects*. It is observed by the Doctor, among other particulars on this subject, that the connect-

* In almost all the advertisements in the annual catalogue we meet with such declarations on the part of the professors as these: "*Privatim ea tractabit quæ studiis auditorum convenerint*"—"Privatam operam auditorum desideriis accommodabit"—"*Nec non desideriis commilitonum in cæteris studii historici locis, ut poterit, privatim satisfaciæ*"—"In explicatione sacri alicujus libri historici, quem adpetierint auditores, studiosæ juventuti inservire conabitur"—"*Auctorem Græcum, quem desideraverint futuri auditores, explicabit*"—"Checiam docens, desideriis non commilitonum, omni, qua potest, diligentia et fidelitate, suam accommodabit operam," &c. &c.

ing principle between music and dancing is what the ancients called *rythmus*, or what we call time and measure. 5th. There are few if any countries in Europe in which eminence in literature and science has been so much noticed by the court as in Sweden. The order of knighthood and other marks of distinction have been bestowed on different professors to a degree of almost profusion. In general the literary character in Sweden is held in high respect and estimation. It is an object of ambition with men of business in easy and prosperous circumstances, and even with the nobility and gentry. Here it may be mentioned that Gustavus III. towards the end of the year 1778, conducted the prince royal, the present king of Sweden, to the university of Upsala, and assisted at all the public, and the greatest part of the private exercises performed by the young prince during a stay of six weeks. The ardour and success with which he applied to his studies at the early age of eight or nine years, was highly gratifying to the king, who, in order to familiarize him with the people, whom he was born to govern, and to give him an early knowledge of the kingdom, had already accompanied him over several of the provinces.

CHAPTER IX.

The annual Exhibition of Pictures at Stockholm—Academy of Painting and Sculpture—Account of some distinguished Painters, and their Productions—Some Works of the Dilettanti.

THE exhibition of pictures at Stockholm every year, in the month of February, is a subject of elegant amusement as well as instruction. It is open to every one, and nothing is paid for admittance. Here the gentlemen and ladies of Stockholm assemble in crowds, in order to encourage, by their approbation and applause, the efforts of genius. It is no small praise to say of this collection, that it is well worthy to be seen by foreigners of every country as well as Swedes. Here is perceived, at one view, the state of the arts in Sweden; and you are enabled not only to form some opinion of the powers of the artists, but also of the general taste and judgment of the nation. Every one declares his sentiments with regard to the pieces without reserve, though there be always some lady or gentleman who takes the lead, and directs the general tone of praise or censure. What is not a little curious, the painters themselves are frequently present, and very busily employed in attempts to guide the public judgment. I noticed one
artist

artist who forced the attention of the whole company to his own picture, and talked about it to every one, and of nothing else. He was a most constant and punctual attendant at the exhibition, and regaled himself with the eulogiums which he extorted from others. This exhibition is at the house appropriated to the academy of painting and sculpture. There are nine professors belonging to this institution, and about four hundred students. The academy distributes annually three first-rate and three secondary prizes. The pupils who shew the greatest proofs of genius are sent to travel in France and Italy at the expence of the academy. There are five apartments, small in size, and very low in the ceiling, in which the pictures are put up with but little grace or propriety. In the middle one, which may be called the antichamber, because it is through this that you enter into all the rest, the pictures supposed to possess the least merit are generally placed, and also the drawings and designs of the scholars. The chamber on the left side of the hall as you enter, is destined for the reception of the first-rate pieces, as that on the right of the antichamber is for that of statues, basso-relievos in plaister, and the designs of the scholars. The second room is filled with a confused assemblage of paintings, designs in architecture, plans of public edifices, with which are intermixed a number of portraits and landscapes. Near to this apartment is a cabinet containing plans and models of new inventions, or projects in mechanics. In this exhibition, not only the productions of native Swedes are displayed, but also those of such members as are foreigners by birth: moreover, the works of the *agréés*, or associates,

associates, who, though they belong to the academy, have not the same privileges as members; and of strangers, that is to say, persons who, without being either in the number of members or associates, obtain leave from the president to exhibit their performances. The number of pieces displayed at the exhibition of 1800, which I saw, amounted to one hundred and twenty-nine. Every picture was numbered, and the name of the painter marked at the bottom. Towards the close of the exhibition, which lasts only fifteen days, a printed catalogue is published, in which all the pictures are arranged according to their order and degree: 1st. Of Swedish members; 2d. Of foreign members; 3d. Of the associates; 4th. Of *tilläggnings*, or artists, who were allowed to exhibit their works without belonging to the academy. I shall observe the same order while I take a view of the most distinguished pieces, or those that drew most attention in this exhibition, whether justly or otherwise.

SWEDISH MEMBERS.

Mr. John Tobie Sergel, whose name is well known among artists in all parts of Europe: he is to be reckoned among the first-rate sculptors, and the only one in the North of any great merit. He studied at Rome, and is one of those who has done most honour to the modern school: he has executed several works of great value. Not long ago he finished a statue in bronze of Gustavus III.; it is of colossal size, and to be placed on a pedestal in front of the castle, opposite to the bridge that leads to the admiralty.

miralty. His most admired production is his *groupe* of Cupid and Psyche, which combines the utmost beauty of form, and the most exquisite expression of sentiment, in the happiest manner: it is designed for the palace of Haga. Unfortunately Mr. Sergel is no longer to be numbered among the artists of Sweden: he has wholly retired from business, and from the world. Overpowered by a deep melancholy, he lives in a state of perfect solitude, and is not to be seen by any one besides his own domestic.

Mr. Charles Fred. Breda. This portrait painter must be known in England: he was brought up to the art under Sir Joshua Reynolds, and is still an imitator of his manner. Mr. Breda is happy in seizing and taking likenesses: he possesses the art of giving an historical air to his pictures by means of the accessories of architecture, landscape, and drapery. His colouring is brilliant, but perhaps too glowing: his attitudes are sometimes a little unnatural and overstrained, his designs not always correct, nor is his drapery easy. He works a great deal, and very rapidly: his pictures are often, strictly speaking, nothing more than sketches. In his personal deportment and manners he is very mild, amiable, and not in the least assuming. He has a collection of pictures, some of them very fine ones.

Mr. Nic. Lafrensen, a painter well known in France, where many of his pictures have been engraved. He is a very pleasing artist, and happy in his ideas; but somewhat of a mannerist of the French school.

Mr. Elias Martin, a landscape painter: he would also be an historical

torical painter; but we may apply to him the saying, "*ne futor ultra crepidam*. Before the arrival of Mr. Belanger, he was the first landscape painter in Sweden. I speak only of his pictures in oil colours; for, as to the art of painting in body colours, he is ignorant of even its first principles. Of all the artists that I know in Europe, Mr. Martin is the happiest in his folly. He is so perfectly satisfied that he is the first painter in Europe of every kind, that the love of glory and renown, a passion attended often with many painful anxieties and struggles, occasions no other than the most pleasing sensations in his breast. If he should but touch the canvas with his pencil, there would presently appear, as he imagines, some embryo of superior excellence. He makes no scruple to insinuate very plainly, that his own productions are the first in the universe: he puts them on a level with those of the admired artists recorded in history; and concludes his panegyric on himself by observing, that he alone of the great painters is now alive, and deploring the loss that threatens the arts by his advanced age. He is a good-natured man, and as much disposed to be complaisant to others, as well pleased with himself, if they will only hear his prattle. There are some who not only have patience to do this, but find great amusement in it; while others of a more serious and severe turn either despise his vanity, or lament the weakness of human nature. His last productions are in every respect execrable; but he has done some things which, for so northerly an artist, possess considerable merit. The chief excellency of his best pieces consists in an agreeable harmoniousness

throughout the whole; and a nice attention to the laws of perspective.

Mr. Deprez, first architect to the king, well known, as I should suppose, in England, where he passed some time, and where he excited some attention. He perhaps is the greatest scene painter for the decoration of theatres in Europe. He has a thorough knowledge of historical scenery, the contrast of light and shade, the effects produced by the different lights of the sun and the moon by perspective, and various machinery. The richness of his mind and imagination is astonishing. His masterpiece is the decorations for the opera of *Gustavus Vasa*: in this, the style of architecture for the palace of *Christierna* is well conceived; the different decorations of the tents of *Gustavus* and *Christierna* are superb. The dreams of *Christierna* are worthy of all the stores of his own exuberant fancy. His greatest difficulty is to moderate and bring down the conceptions of his warm and highly exalted imagination to the smallness of the size of the theatre of *Stockholm*. It was impossible to fix on a man more calculated to give satisfaction to *Gustavus III.* or between whose mind and that monarch's there was greater affinity. The king, when in a high-spirited and communicative mood, was wont to say to those about him, "There is nobody who has any real fancy but myself and "Deprez." It is much to be regretted that this great man, so well fitted to display to advantage his genius and talents on an extensive theatre, should be buried in Sweden, where, no longer employed in the theatre, he scarcely can contrive to exist, and
where

where ignorance, and cabal, and envy, have borne him down, perhaps never to rise again. If Gustavus III. had lived, this man would have probably cost Sweden several millions of rix-dollars. It was he who finished the design of the new palace at Haga; the groundwork alone, on which it is now built, has cost an enormous sum to so poor a country. Project was concerted after project, and the restless and exalted imaginations of those two enthusiasts (the king and Deprez) must have exhausted the public treasury. Mr. Deprez, perceiving the impossibility of finding employment in a country where the finances are so narrow as in Sweden, and where every thing is under the reign of intrigue, gives himself up for the present to the reveries of imagination; and the greater part of his designs in architecture are truly castles in the air. He amuses his leisure with drawing plans of edifices, more magnificent and sumptuous than the ancient pyramids of Egypt: he forms projects of piles and monuments a thousand times more expensive than any recorded in the history of the world. He has lately conceived the idea of a pyramid, the base of which could not be fixed any where else than in the deserts of Arabia, in which statues of all the great men in the world, of every possible kind of celebrity or distinction, are to be deposited. He admits himself, that in order to carry this design into execution, it would be indispensibly necessary for all sovereign powers to join in one society, or club, for defraying the expences. Mr. Deprez is also an historical painter; but his colours are wretched. I have seen several of his pictures of naval engagements; in some of which you perceive nothing

but a single ship in front of the piece, which covers and hides all the others.

Mr. Lewis Belanger, first painter to the king of Sweden: After residing several years in Italy, where he applied himself to the study of architecture, he went to and continued some time in England; where there is still to be seen a number of prints taken from his pictures in body colours. He is a landscape painter of no small merit: his touch is light, and produces a pleasing effect: he has a good imagination, and makes an excellent use of body colours. There is no artist in Sweden that excels him in his line of painting. He is now engaged in a very interesting work, namely, *a picturesque Tour through Sweden*, which is engraved under his own direction, and of which some plates have already appeared at Stockholm, by an engraver whom he carried with him thither, of the name of Cordier. On his arrival in Sweden and presentation to the king, he was honoured with the title of first painter in his majesty's service; and, I believe, he has obtained permission to make drawings of all the ports in Sweden; which will form a very curious collection, especially as they are done by the hand of so excellent an artist. His distinguished merit, soon after his arrival, excited envy and raised him a number of enemies.

Mr. Westmüller. There was nothing of this painter in the exhibition of the year mentioned (Feb. 1800); but there had been an Ariadne by him in that of the preceding year, which was much talked of, and confirmed the reputation he had already acquired.

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He is the best portrait painter in Sweden after Breda, and in the minuter parts of execution he sometimes surpasses him. The best of his portraits that I have seen, is that of Governor Uglafs. Although the figure be stiff, as indeed all his pictures are, it possesses much animation and expression. The hands are done with the pencil of a master; and the velvet drapery is worthy of the satin of the Chevalier Vanderwerf. His Ariadne of 1799 was unnatural, ill designed, and finished in a slovenly and tasteless manner. The nakedness of the figure was the only circumstance that flattered the eye, and drew the applause of the spectators.

FOREIGN MEMBERS.

The works of foreign members do not, strictly speaking, enter into an account of the state of the arts in Sweden; but as they appeared at the exhibition, and as some of those members are resident in Sweden, I cannot well avoid saying something of their productions.

Mr. Inel, director of the royal academy of arts at Copenhagen. This painter makes a noise in the North that is incredible: he is looked upon as a prodigy. Of portrait painters he is considered as the *ne plus ultra*, and his pictures are regarded as models of the art. The encomiums bestowed on this man appeared to me so excessive and disgusting, that I cannot help introducing in this place the remarks that were made on him by a great Italian connoisseur, who had seen many of his productions, and was perfectly acquainted with his manner. "Inel," observed he, "is
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“ in my eyes of all portrait painters the most disagreeable. In respect of design, he is indeed tolerably correct ; but in every other particular his inferiority is decided. His compositions are without taste ; his light and shade bad ; his colours cold, hard, and without the least gradation of shades ; the effects disagreeable ; his resemblances, though happy enough and to common eyes striking, are nevertheless wholly devoid of dignity, and his contours sharp and harsh : he is but very imperfectly acquainted with the laws of perspective ; his figures are mean, and his dexterity stiff and constrained.”

Mr. Lampi. The Duke and Dukes of Sudermania being at Vienna, had their portraits drawn there by this artist, and sent them to the exhibition at Stockholm. Although Lampi had not by any means bestowed particular pains on these pictures, and though they even shew marks of constraint and hurry, it may be confidently affirmed that these two portraits eclipsed all the rest in the exhibition, and proved the striking difference between the southern and northern school. There was in these two pictures a noble majesty and a happy imitation of nature. The composition was pleasing, the colouring vivid, the effect sensible, the light and shade soft, the contours well rounded, and the strokes of the pencil drawn with the exact aim of an artist.

Mr. Antony Boffi, a miniature painter. He is a native of Venice, and came to reside at Stockholm only for a time ; during which he finished a considerable number of portraits, all of them of great merit.

Among

Among the works of the dilettanti there were some engravings by Count Mörner—they were happy imitations of the German style of *mezzo tinto*, which he learnt during his residence at Vienna, where he was in the suit of the Duke of Sudermania.

Mademoiselle de Pollett, maid of honour to the queen dowager, had a landscape done in Indian ink, sketched in a very free and happy manner. This lady is one of the best educated and most accomplished women I met with in the Swedish capital. She is a native of Stralsund in Germany.

The two rivals in landscape painting are, Colonel Skiöldebrand and Baron de Geer; but there was none of their productions this year in the exhibition. My praises of the first might have the appearance of partiality, and I therefore will abstain from them, however justly they might be bestowed; but I may venture to say of the second, that he has a delicate and pleasing pencil; that he draws the figures in a lively and correct manner, though he has not sufficiently studied the great masters to have learnt the true shades of perspective, and the general effect of the whole.

I shall enter no farther into any details; and, indeed, there would not be much to add on this subject which could interest the reader. I will only make this general observation, that under the present reign the fine arts in Sweden are far from being in a flourishing condition. True genius and talents are not employed, but, on the contrary, discouraged. Sergel, we have already mentioned, has retired under the pressure of a deep melancholy. Deprez is no longer engaged at the theatre; and Belanger

too has fallen a victim to jealousy, envy, and intrigue. In a word, the arts are reduced to a state of monopoly, in the hands of a few who know how to impose upon the minds of their countrymen, by the machinations of secret cabal and open quackery.

CHAPTER X.

Tribute of Praise to Mr. Coxe for his Account of Sweden; and for his Eagerness in collecting Information—A Hint given to Travelers—The general Impression made on the Author's Mind, of the State of Sweden in respect to Arts and Sciences; Commerce and Manufactures; and civil Freedom—The Use of Sledges in Winter, and the Advantages derived from it—The different Kinds of Sledges; and the Roads made through the Snow—Departure from Stockholm; and Journey to Grislehamn—Passage by Haga and Ulrieſdal—Description of the Gardens of Haga in Winter—Face of the Country between Ulrieſdal and Grislehamn—Foxes met with on the Road—Want of Inns or Public-Houſes—Proviſions of the Peaſants that attend Travellers—Character, Manners, and domeſtic Condition of the Peaſantry.

IF there be no intellectual ſubject, however abſtract and refined, but muſt neceſſarily be attentively ſcrutinized and viewed in various relations; how much more indiſpenſibly requiſite is it, that diverſity of tours and extenſive travels ſhould be undertaken by different individuals, for the diſplay of manners, the knowledge of arts, and that the book of nature, beſt inſtructor, ſhould be wide ſpread before mankind. Amidſt the vaſt and almoſt infinite

variety of matter presented to our observation, we naturally attach ourselves to what is congenial with our own habits of thinking, and our own pursuits and studies. It ought not to be the design or attempt in any new pilgrimage of this kind, to supersede and render useless all that has preceded it. The regions of Scandinavia certainly open a wide field for various speculations and discoveries. The mines of Sweden have given birth to many literary compositions, and will yet indubitably produce many more. Its navigation, commerce, revenue, population, government, police, and internal regulations for the good order and convenience of society; the public works, edifices, and charities; the state of agriculture, the army, the navy, and the various other objects that constitute the proper subjects of historical works and statistical enquiries—all these particulars have been detailed with tolerable accuracy by many travellers before me. It would not be consistent with my plan to give a statistical account of Sweden, even could I presume or suppose that my reader would thank me for being more minute in my information than Mr. Coxe has been; or be pleased, were I to swell my pages with more copious extracts from the Swedish history than this traveller has furnished. It is a just tribute to Mr. Coxe, and which I readily acknowledge, that he at this day possesses in Sweden the reputation of an indefatigable enquirer and collector of every possible information on a variety of subjects. Whatever he could learn from any one he noted down in his journal, under some head or other. If among the mass of materials which he thus gathered, there were some that
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had already met the public eye, it must not be thought that Mr. Coxe published them again as a plagiarist or compiler ; but it arose from his not knowing, or from overlooking their existence in the literary world. The republication of them, by confirming what others had noticed before him, gave an additional value to his work, which is one of the richest miscellanies that ever has appeared under the name of travels. This testimony to the industry of Mr. Coxe, it would be ungenerous in me to withhold ; although I, as well as all other travellers who came after him, suffered, in those places where he had been, some trifling inconveniencies from the ardour of his zeal in pursuit of information. I was told by different persons, that his eagerness and impatience to obtain instruction on several points of public oeconomy, for the improvement of his statistical tables, was so great, that he was always ready to put questions, but never to answer any. The Swedes naturally expected that a stranger would contribute to their entertainment, as they were willing to facilitate his labours : but Mr. Coxe, I was told, declined all free and communicative conversation, and was intent solely on his own private views of making a publication. He did not hesitate to request gentlemen to collect materials for him, and to favour him with their statements in writing. All this might be excusable and even laudable in a philosopher, yet it was not quite satisfactory to the people whom he visited : they wished to have their own curiosity in some measure gratified, by an interchange of information : they expected something more from the reverend English traveller

than to undergo a mere examination. These things were frequently mentioned to me, as soon as the first civilities of reception had passed, and I considered it as a premonition to myself, and did not fail to take the hint, as my readers will readily conceive and believe, from the paucity of statistical subjects that I have touched on, in comparison with the various and precise details of Mr. Coxe. This hint, which I took myself, I throw out for the benefit of future travellers.

The state of Sweden, and particularly that of the capital, has left this general impression on my mind, that a greater progress has been made in the sciences and arts, both liberal and mechanical, by the Swedes, than by any other nation struggling with equal disadvantages of soil and climate, and labouring under the discouragement of internal convulsions and external aggressions, from proud, powerful, and overbearing neighbours. Their commerce, all things considered, and their manufactures are in a flourishing state. The spirit of the people, under various changes unfavourable to liberty, remains yet unbroken. The government is still obliged in some degree to respect the public opinion. There is much regard paid to the natural claims of individuals; justice is tempered with mercy, and great attention is shewn in their hospitals and other institutions to the situation of the poor and helpless. From the influence of the court among a quick, lively, and active race of men, private intrigue and cabal have, to a great degree, crept into every department of society; and this is what I find the greatest subject of blame, or of regret, in speaking of that country.

country. The resources of a state are chiefly three; population, revenue, and territory. The first two are not considerable in Sweden; the last is great in extent, though not so in its immediate value: but the vast extent of territory itself is an object of importance. Land and seas, however sterile and rude, constantly become more fertile and useful, as the course of science and art advances—as the French say, “*Toujours va la terre au bon.*” Art subdues natural difficulties and disadvantages, and finds new uses for materials of every description: and, finally, it may be justly observed that, in the very rudeness of the natural elements, and in their poverty, the Swedes have a pledge and security for civil freedom and political independence.

It is deemed a very great calamity in Sweden, and one not less heavy than a bad harvest, if the winter be such as to prevent the use of sledges, because it is by means of these that bulky commodities, namely, iron, wood, grain, and other articles, are conveyed from one place to another. Winters, however, so mild that sledges cannot be used, sometimes will happen; then the communication is limited, and commercial intercourse confined: for the highways are by no means sufficient for the purposes of travelling and carrying goods; whereas, with a sledge you may proceed on the snow, through forests and marshes, across rivers and lakes, without any impediment or interruption. It is on account of this facility of transporting merchandize over the ice, that all the great fairs in Sweden and Finland are held in the winter season. Nor is it an uncommon thing for the peasants to undertake journeys,

neys, with whatever they have got for the market, of three or four hundred English miles. They have been known to travel with their sledges about two hundred miles in ten or twelve days. As there is generally no other mode of travelling in Sweden, or in the North, during the winter, than by means of sledges, the variety of them is so great, that when the time arrived destined for us to pursue our journey northward, our variety of choice of several kinds was not a little perplexing. They were not only different in ornament and form, but also in their construction and manner of accommodating the traveller. When a person undertakes a long journey in an unusual manner, his prudence never suffers him to believe that enough has been done; and embarrassments are increased through an over anxious multiplication of the measures that are adopted for avoiding them. But there were really some circumstances that obliged us to be very circumspect and nice in our selection of the sledge that was to carry us in our intended expedition from Stockholm towards the north. The great and covered sledges, built like the body of a carriage, and placed on skates, are certainly the warmest, the most sociable, and in every respect the most commodious; but these were by no means adapted to a journey through Finland. Here it is necessary to have sledges of a certain determinate width, such as can be drawn by one horse along the narrow roads, or rather in the ruts or tracks of this country. In many places the roads are bordered on both sides by snow to the height of five or six feet, forming as it were two ramparts, between which you
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are to move along. The little open sledges, such as are used in Stockholm on parties of pleasure, and made commonly in the shape of a cockle-shell, seemed upon the whole most eligible, on account of their lightness, and their being sufficiently narrow for the straitest passages. But these sledges, though convenient enough for a small excursion, become very fatiguing on a long journey; and in one of seven or eight hundred English miles would have been altogether insupportable. Without some particular precaution, in adding a prop or support behind, it was impossible to resist the impulse, or guide the movement and direction of the sledge, in uneven parts of the road. During the whole of our journey we were under the necessity of being our own drivers. There were at the time some Finland sledges to be had at Stockholm, which might have served equally for Sweden and Finland; but these vehicles, used only in travelling through that part of Sweden which lies between Stockholm and Finland, were drawn by particular sets of horses. The peasants, unaccustomed to such sledges, refused to furnish their horses, as their harness did not suit them. They complained that they were clumsy, awkward, and heavy, because they did not rest on iron but large wooden skates. As there is but very little travelling in Finland, the regulations for the roads are not so strict as in Sweden. The snow commonly lays deeper, and the inhabitants, accustomed to the form of their own sledges, see no reason for any road wider than the only carriages they are acquainted with require.

The method of making roads, adopted in all the districts of the
North

North in which I have travelled, after a great fall of snow, is to place a sort of triangle of wood, the base of which may be about eight or ten feet, on rollers, where the passage is to be, and to have this frame drawn forward along the middle by horses or oxen, the acute angle or apex of the triangle being placed foremost. In this manner the snow lying on the middle of the way is pushed to the sides, and a passage is thus rendered easier for the sledges that come after. But this triangle removes or diminishes only the quantity of snow in the middle of the road, so that the travellers who afterwards may pass that way make another rutt or furrow, proportionable to the width of their sledges: and as the second follows always the track of the first, this furrow, in the course of time, and by new falls of snow accumulating on the sides, becomes so deep, that it forms a kind of case which admits only sledges of the same dimension. Having weighed all these difficulties, and every obstacle and disadvantage we could think of, we resolved to content ourselves with such sledges of the peasants, as we might obtain from one post-house to another, and to travel in this manner as far as Abo, where we might purchase Finland sledges in the country itself, and pursue our journey in our own equipage, such as it would be, in order to avoid the inconvenience of so frequently moving and stowing our baggage. We flattered ourselves that this expedient was the best, and set out perfectly satisfied with the resolution we had taken.

We departed from Stockholm on the 16th of March, 1799, at seven o'clock in the morning, passing through the north gate.

Enveloped

Enveloped in pelices of Russian bears' skins, our heads closely covered with fur caps, and our hands in gloves lined with wool or fur, we found no reason to complain of cold the whole way to Grislehamn, where we arrived on the same evening. The sky was covered with clouds and dark, and consequently our journey was dismal, or at least gloomy. The first object that presented itself to our view on leaving Stockholm behind us, was the gardens of Haga, already mentioned, with the lake which in the summer season forms so great an embellishment to this delightful retreat. It was no longer that delicious paradise, that pleasure ground tufted with trees in leaf, and adorned with shrubberies and coppice wood, through which the winding paths, under a pleasing shade, imperceptibly conducted the visitor to some fountain, or to the vaulted roof of some little temple, or some cabin, the asylum of simplicity and love; it was the skeleton, or, more properly, the inanimated carcase of that garden. All the fine contrivances of art which were made use of to captivate the eye, and to fill the mind with a pleasing sensation of surprize and satisfaction; those means that were called in aid to improve the beauty of the place, and to conceal its faults; all these secrets by which you were kept in a state of ignorance of what could afford no gratification if known or seen, were now, by the merciless severity of the season, cruelly revealed. A sad and mournful nakedness was visible throughout the whole. Those temples and retreats to which you were led through many meandering ways and turns, and which were so situated as to deceive the imagination by the idea that they were

placed at great distances from each other, were beheld heaped together in one crowd. There appeared no marks of regular combination and design: all was a dead confusion.

Having traversed the lake of Haga, we passed very near the country house of the queen dowager Ulrica, called Ulricksdale. It had been before the seat of Count John de Gardie, but was purchased by the queen dowager Ulrica Eleanora in the reign of Charles XI. In this retreat the queen enjoyed that peace and tranquillity which usually fly from the palaces of the great. Beyond Ulricksdale nothing occurred that was in the least interesting the whole way to Grislehamn, a distance from Stockholm of not less than sixty-nine English miles. The face of the country cannot be said to be either flat or hilly: it is unequal ground, but rising and falling by gentle swells. The eye, fatigued by the dazzling whiteness of the snow, reposes itself with pleasure on the dark green of the pines, which are often met with throughout the whole of the journey. What amused us most was to see foxes here and there standing or walking about on the highway without any apparent solicitude for their safety. We were astonished to find this quadruped so incautious, and so devoid of that sagacity and prudence which is the characteristic of the species. The business for which those animals come to the highway we discovered to be no other than to eat the new-dropped dung of the horses that passed. If, while they were in search or possession of this, a sledge happened to go by, they would only leap over to the other side of the ditch, and turn about and keep a constant eye on the equipage,

equipage, or whatever or whomsoever they considered as objects of just suspicion and danger, without moving farther off, even though a man should come within thirty or forty paces of them. If the sledge stopped, then they would immediately betake themselves to flight; but if any one whistled, the fox would stop short, turn about, and for a few seconds look the person in the face. A sportsman, having a fowling piece with him in his sledge, would have an opportunity of taking a tolerably sure aim, and doing great execution among them merely by means of whistling. We were not without fowling pieces; but our pelices, a certain laziness and heaviness with which we were overwhelmed (the effect, no doubt, of the climate), and the constraint we were under from the necessity of accommodating our posture to the movement of the sledge, all conspired to make shooting at a mark no easy matter. Besides the report of our pieces might have frightened the horses.

It is alleged by some, that the foxes of the North are of a different species from those of England, and that those of the latter are larger, more cunning, and wilder than those of the former. Without pretending to decide this question, I shall only observe, that the prudence of northern animals is often overcome by extreme hunger, and that the cold in Great Britain is never so long nor so intense as to reduce them to such extremity. As to their stopping short in the midst of their flight, on hearing a whistle, I could never learn or conjecture what sensation or idea this could excite in them. Being to them an unusual sound, they

no doubt considered it as a warning of danger. The country people have a superstitious notion, that foxes and wolves are offended at being called by their specific names, and that they take vengeance for this insult on their poultry, and other domesticated animals; for this reason they call the foxes *brown legs*, and the wolves *grey legs*, in the same manner as the people of Sumatra give good names to the tyger.

During the whole of this route from Stockholm to Grislehamn, the traveller must not think of stopping either to eat or sleep; I mean to say, that there are no inns to be met with as in other parts of Europe. He must carry his provisions along with him, for the poor peasants have seldom any thing besides bread and milk, or sometimes salted provisions, not always agreeable to travellers. Their bread is flat round cakes, made for the most part of barley or rye, with holes in the middle, through which a string passes for slinging a number of them on their backs when they go abroad to the woods, or fields, or a-fishing. Potatoes are by no means common among them, which is owing, I imagine, to the difficulty they find to keep them from the frost in winter. The philosophical œconomists, numerous as they are in Sweden, have not yet, it would seem, discovered themselves, or at least not taught the country people, that this useful root may be secured from the keenest frost, by lodging it in cavities dug to a sufficient depth in the earth; but the peasants, though poor, feel no pressing wants that are not gratified. Besides bread and milk, they have in their stores salted or smoked meat, as well as fish, and occasionally

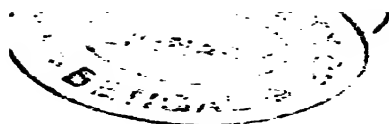
caſionally even beer and brandy; but theſe laſt are objects of luxury, and neceſſary only to factitious appetites: both they and their children are well fed. Their houſes and manner of clothing ſufficiently protect them from the ſeverity of the cold; their fireſides are always well provided with wood, and their apartments warm and comfortable. The traits of innocence, ſimplicity, and contentment, which, on entering any one of their cabins, you may perceive in their countenances, form a picture that muſt greatly move the ſenſibility of a ſtranger, and intereſt the feelings of his heart. The little ſports of the children, the ſkipping and friſking of dogs and cats, the crackling made by faggots and logs of wood, the modeſt and trembling ſong of the cricket, recalled to my mind, with great pleaſure, four charming lines of Goldſmith, which exhibit an exact likenefs of what I actually ſaw:

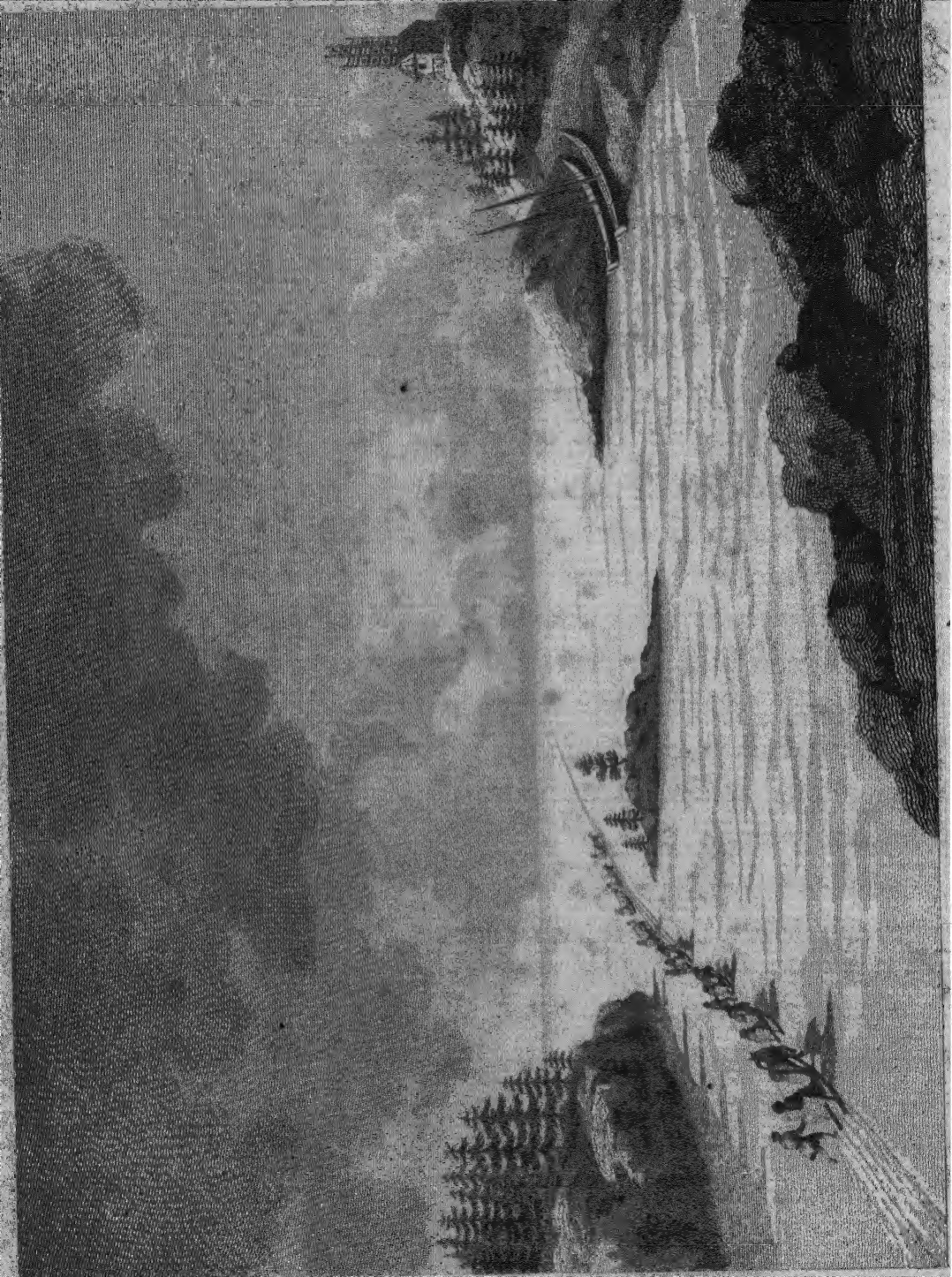
Around in ſympathetic mirth,
Its tricks the kitten tries;
The cricket chirrup in the hearth,
The crackling faggot flies.

CHAPTER XI.

Grislehamn—The Passage across the Gulf to Finland dangerous in Summer to navigate, and in Winter frozen over so as to bear Sledges —The Author's Journey across the Ice. Difficulties attending it, and Adventures that happened—Seals, or Sea-Calves, living on and under the Ice. Manner of hunting them—The Isles of Aland. Some of them mentioned by Name: the Fortrefs of Castleholmen —Anecdotes from a Conversation with a Peasant.

GRISLEHAMN is a small port town, where all travellers stop in their way to or from Sweden or Finland, whether in summer or winter. The navigation of the straits here is extremely dangerous, as well as disagreeable. There is only one passage for large vessels, and the mariners are always in terror of striking on the rocks which are every where scattered in this formidable sea. In winter a passage is very rarely attempted, but when the whole surface is frozen to such a degree of solidity as to bear a sledge. When this is not the case, as sometimes happens during a mild and open winter, those persons who have occasion to travel from Sweden, either to Finland or Russia, are under the necessity of going by the way of Torneå all round the gulf of Bothnia. Grislehamn is not remarkable on any account, except its being a place
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of rendezvous for travellers by sea or land. It has neither commerce, manufactures, nor houses fit for the accommodation of strangers. It consists of nothing more than the post-master's habitation, which is built of brick; and a number of wooden cabins around it, which are occupied by peasants. The harbour of Grislehamn, though not very capacious, is excellent, particularly for small vessels. Two tongues of land jetting into the sea secure it from both the east and west winds, while a small island, situated nearly in the middle between them, breaks the force of the waves that are driven against the coast by the winds which agitate the whole mass of the Bothnian sea in its direction from the North. On one of these tongues of land a telegraph is erected on a commanding height, which is the only one that I saw in Sweden. It was constructed by order of Gustavus III., during the war in Finland, on a plan given by Mr. Edelkrantz, member of two Swedish academies above noticed. This telegraph, by intermediate stations, communicates with the capital as well as Finland, at times when, from the weakness of the ice, a passage over the gulf is impracticable.

When a traveller is going to cross over the gulf on the ice to Finland, the peasants always oblige him to engage double the number of horses to what he had upon his arriving at Grislehamn. We were forced to take no less than eight sledges, being three in company, and two servants. This appears at first sight to be an imposition on the part of the peasants; but we found, by experience, that it was a necessary precaution. The distance across is forty-three

three English miles, thirty of which you travel on the ice, without touching on land. This passage over the frozen sea is, doubtless, the most singular and striking spectacle that a traveller from the South can behold. I laid my account with having a journey more dull and unvaried than surprising or dangerous. I expected to travel forty-three miles without sight of land over a vast and uniform plain, and that every successive mile would be in exact unison and monotonous correspondence with those I had already travelled; but my astonishment was greatly increased in proportion as we advanced from our starting-post. The sea, at first smooth and even, became more and more rugged and unequal. It assumed, as we proceeded, an undulating appearance, resembling the waves by which it had been agitated. At length we met with masses of ice heaped one upon the other, and some of them seeming as if they were suspended in the air, while others were raised in the form of pyramids. On the whole they exhibited a picture of the wildest and most savage confusion, that surprised the eye by the novelty of its appearance. It was an immense chaos of icy ruins, presented to view under every possible form, and embellished by superb stalactites of a blue green colour.

Amidst this chaos, it was not without difficulty and trouble that our horses and sledges were able to find and pursue their way. It was necessary to make frequent windings, and sometimes to return in a contrary direction, following that of a frozen wave, in order to avoid a collection of icy mountains that lay before us. In spite
of

of all our expedients for discovering the evenest paths, our sledges were every moment overturned to the right or the left; and frequently the legs of one or other of the company, raised perpendicularly in the air, served as a signal for the whole caravan to halt. The inconvenience and the danger of our journey were still farther encreased by the following circumstance. Our horses were made wild and furious, both by the sight and the smell of our great pelices, manufactured of the skins of Russian wolves or bears. When any of the sledges was overturned, the horses belonging to it, or to that next to it, frightened at the sight of what they supposed to be a wolf or bear rolling on the ice, would set off at full gallop, to the great terror of both passenger and driver. The peasant, apprehensive of losing his horse in the midst of this desert, kept firm hold of the bridle, and suffered the horse to drag his body through masses of ice, of which some sharp points threatened to cut him in pieces. The animal, at last wearied out by the constancy of the man, and disheartened by the obstacles continually opposed to his flight, would stop; then we were enabled to get again into our sledges, but not till the driver had blindfolded the animal's eyes: but one time, one of the wildest and most spirited of all the horses in our train, having taken fright, completely made his escape. The peasant who conducted him, unable any longer to endure the fatigue and pain of being dragged through the ice, let go his hold of the bridle. The horse relieved from this weight, and feeling himself at perfect liberty, redoubled his speed, and surmounted every impediment. The sledge, which

he made to dance in the air, by alarming his fears, added new wings to his flight. When he had fled to a considerable distance from us, he appeared from time to time as a dark spot which continued to diminish in the air, and at last totally vanished from our sight. Then it was that we recognized the prudence of having in our party some spare horses, and we were fully sensible of the danger that must attend a journey across the gulf of Bothnia without such a precaution. The peasant, who was the owner of the fugitive, taking one of the sledges, went in search of him, trying to find him again by following the traces of his flight. As for ourselves, we made the best of our way to the isles of Aland, keeping as nearly as we could in the middle of the same plain, still being repeatedly overturned, and always in danger of losing one or other of our horses; which would have occasioned a very serious embarrassment. During the whole of this journey we did not meet with, on the ice, so much as one man, beast, bird, or any living creature. Those vast solitudes present a desert abandoned as it were by nature. The dead silence that reigns is interrupted only by the whistling of the winds against the prominent points of ice, and sometimes by the loud crackings occasioned by their being irresistibly torn from this frozen expanse; pieces thus forcibly broken off are frequently blown to a considerable distance. Through the rents produced by these ruptures, you may see below the watery abyss; and it is sometimes necessary to lay planks across them, by way of bridges, for the sledges to pass over.

The only animals that inhabit those deserts, and find them an agreeable abode, are sea-calves or seals. In the cavities of the ice they deposit the fruits of their love, and teach their young ones betimes to brave all the rigours of the rudest season. Their mothers lay them down, all naked as they are brought forth, on the ice; and their fathers take care to have an open hole in the ice near them, for a speedy communication with the water. Into these they plunge with their young, the moment they see a hunter approach; or at other times they descend into them spontaneously in search of fishes, for sustenance to themselves and their offspring. The manner in which the male seals make those holes in the ice is astonishing: neither their teeth nor their paws have any share in this operation; but it is performed solely by their breath. They are often hunted by the peasants of the isles. When the islanders discover one of those animals, they take post, with guns and staves, at some distance from him, behind a mass of ice, and wait till the seal comes up from the water for the purpose of taking in his quantum of air. It sometimes happens, when the frost is extremely keen, that the hole is frozen up almost immediately after the seal makes his appearance in the atmosphere; in which case the peasants fall on him with their sticks, before he has time with his breath to make a new aperture. In such extremities the animal displays an incredible degree of courage. With his formidable teeth he bites the club with which he is assaulted, and even attempts to attack the persons who strike him; but the utmost efforts and resistance of these creatures are not much

dreaded, on account of the slowness of their motions, and the inaptitude of their members to a solid element.

After considerable fatigue, and many adventures, having refreshed our horses about half-way on the high sea, we at length touched at the small island of Signilskar. This island presents to the view neither wood nor lawn, and is inhabited only by some peasants, and the officer of the telegraph which is stationed here for keeping up a correspondence with that of Grissehamn. It is one of those little islands scattered in this part of the gulf, which collectively bear the name of Aland. The distance from Grissehamn to Signilskar, in a strait line, is five Swedish miles, which are nearly equal to thirty-five English; but the turnings we were obliged to make, in order to find out the most practicable places, could not be less than ten English miles more. All this while we were kept in anxious suspense concerning the fate of our fugitive horse, and entertained the most uneasy apprehensions that he was either lost in the immensity of the icy desert, or buried perhaps in the watery abyss. We were preparing to continue our journey through the isles on the ice, and had already put new horses to our sledge, when we spied, with inexpressible pleasure, the two sledges returning with the fugitive. The animal was in the most deplorable condition imaginable: his body was covered all over with sweat and foam, and was enveloped in a cloud of smoke. Still we did not dare to come near him; the excessive fatigue of his violent course had not abated his ferocity; he was as much alarmed at the sight of our pelices as before; he snorted

snorted, bounded, and beat the snow and ice with his feet; nor could the utmost exertions of the peasants to hold him fast have prevented him from once more making his escape, if we had not retired to some distance, and removed the sight and the scent of our pelices. From Signilka we pursued our journey through the whole of the isles of Aland. In different parts of Aland you meet with post-houses, that is to say with places where you may get horses. You travel partly by land and partly over the ice of the sea. The distance between some of these islands amounts to no less than eight or ten miles. On the sea, the natives have used the precaution of fixing branches of trees, or putting small pines along the whole route, for the guidance of travellers in the night-time, or directing them how to find out the right way after falls of snow.

Between the two stations of Heraldshy and Skorpas is situated on a rock the famous fortress of Castellholmen, every where encompassed by water, except on one side, where it communicates with an island by means of a narrow tongue of land. This castle is now in a state of ruin, and will perhaps never be restored. It was built by Binger Jarl, administrator of Sweden, and father of king Weldeman. It became afterwards the residence of the governors of Aland, and continued so till the year 1634. During the reign of Eric of Pomerania, this castle was inhabited by a foreign lady of the name of Yda. Under Eric Puke it was, in consequence of his orders, reduced by John Folkénson. It was given in 1505 by the regent Suante Sture to the Chevalier Eric, son to John Vasa, and
father

father of Gustavus I. During the war between Suante Sture and John II. king of Denmark, it was burned, but rebuilt, and served as a prison to the unfortunate Eric XIV. in the year 1571. In the year 1556 it was granted, with all the isles of Aland in fief, to duke John. After this, namely in 1603, it devolved to Catherine, widow of Gustavus I. In 1644 that part of the castle, which was constructed of wood was destroyed by fire. Then it became the property Queen Ulrica Eleanora, the consort of Charles XI. and since that it has been burned and rebuilt several times.

Between the isles of Vergata and Kumlinge we had for our guide a peasant of about fifty-five years of age, who astonished us with the great freedom of his conversation, as well as the good sense of his observations. Very different from other rustics, who never open their lips, nor discover any sparks of curiosity about any thing, he made many enquiries, and with great politeness, concerning our native country, the nature of its government, its situation, climate, natural produce, and several other subjects; and his questions struck us as being greatly above the common understanding of persons in his condition of life. Being informed that we were from Italy, he expressed much astonishment: he had heard, he said, that there was a war in Italy, and that there was in that country a warrior who struck terror into all the world; alluding no doubt to Bonaparte. We asked him how many miles he conceived Italy to be distant from Aland? He said he could not tell; but that he imagined it to be a great deal farther off than

than Denmark. When we told him that it was three hundred Swedish leagues beyond Denmark, he looked at us with amazement, and, after a short pause, said, that he could not imagine from what motives we could have come to his country at an expence of so many rix dollars for post-horses. His particular amusement in conversation seemed to be to speak ill of the clergy, whom he turned into ridicule with a very happy vein of humour. He was a great partizan of Gustavus the Third, with whom he said he had conversed, and who not unlikely may have diverted himself with this peasant. He never quitted his favourite topic of abusing the clergy, but constantly returned to it from any digression which we had indulged. "Gustavus III. (said he) was a
" great man and a great king. Still, however, he did not make
" any pretensions to half the respect and veneration that are ex-
" acted by our clergy. The clergy preach humility, but are them-
" selves proud. Our parish priests enjoy good stipends in the most
" tranquil ease : and that they may be disturbed by nothing, they
" hire a poor clergyman to preach a sermon for them on Sundays,
" while they themselves do nothing but sit still on a seat, and re-
" ceive the homage of the peasants as they pass by them. This
" idleness of theirs, I can assure you, is not to be imputed to any
" want of capacity or knowledge : for when any question arises
" concerning the payment of tythes, or of a portion of our hard
" earnings, they immediately shew themselves to be the most
" learned and acute men in the world. They are not only ready
" reckoners, but have at their fingers ends all the laws, ordinances
" and

“ and statutes of the kingdom.” I repeat here what was said by the peasant almost word for word, as it may give some idea of the way of thinking on this subject that prevails among that class of people in this part of the country. What encreased our surprise at this man’s intelligence was, that he had received no education, nor ever read any books; what he said was merely the result of his own observation. Our philosopher intermixed in his conversation some meteorological observations, and predicted a very late summer from some spots he had remarked in that great luminous belt which goes across the heavens, and is called the Milky-way. He related some anecdotes of the last war in Finland, and told us that the battle of Hogland was not so decisive in favour of the Swedes as it might have been, had every thing been executed in due manner: but Prince Frederic could not send the flotilla to succour the fleet, which was short of ammunition. This is one of the most remarkable circumstances in the whole history of the war; and of the truth of it I was well assured afterwards by persons who had the best opportunities of knowing the fact, and whose veracity was above all doubt. The following was the situation of affairs: The land army was posted at Lavisa, under the joint command of Prince Frederic and General Toll. When the battle began, Prince Frederic, knowing that the Swedish fleet was in want of ammunition, was desirous of sending it a supply by the flotilla which lay at anchor in the road of Lavisa, and gave orders to General Toll to that purpose: but the general refused to execute the prince’s intentions; and when the latter was proceeding

ing to enforce obedience, the general pulled out of his pocket a paper in which he had been invested privately with the exclusive command of the flotilla. By this paper the prince learnt how little confidence was placed in him by the king. Had the Russians held out but one hour longer, the whole Swedish fleet must have been taken. The two fleets were equally crippled, and it was the retreat of the Russians alone that constituted the Duke of Sudermania the hero of that naval engagement.

CHAPTER XII.

An Account of the Isles of Aland—Their Situation, Name, and History—Parishes and Civil Regulations—Soil and Produce—The Inhabitants; their Manners and Customs—Natural History: Quadrupeds, Birds, amphibious Animals, Fishes, Insects, Plants, and Minerals.

THE isle of Aland, with its dependant islands, to the number of eighty, most of them small, but inhabited, are situated between the gulfs of Bothnia and Finland, in latitude 59 degrees 47 minutes, to 60½ degrees north, and longitude 36 degrees 57 minutes, to 39 degrees and 47 minutes.* In respect to its extent, Aland constitutes the smallest of the possessions belonging to the crown of Sweden, containing only eleven square Swedish miles, or about seventy-seven English, being in length about twenty English miles, and in breadth about sixteen.

The name of Aland seems to be derived from the ancient Gothic A, which signifies water, and the word land; so that Aland together is the same in meaning as island. This appears to be the most natural etymology, though various writers have

* From the meridian of Ferro. Reckoning from the meridian of London, the longitude would be from 19 degrees 17 minutes, to 22 degrees 7 minutes east.

indulged themselves in conjectures, for which there is always room in enquiries concerning the origin of places, and the derivation of their names.

Aland has been supposed anciently to have been governed by its own monarchs; but however that may be, it is certainly known that since the fourteenth century it has made part of the bishoprick and government of Abo, with the exception that in the year 1743 Aland and the other islands submitted to Russia, and swore allegiance to the Czarina, but were soon after restored to Sweden by the treaty of Abo. These islands in former times frequently suffered from the invasions of the Russians, and the inhabitants had been forced to fly from their houses and fertile plains. But in 1718 a congress was held here for the restoration of peace, by which the enjoyment of tranquillity was secured to them.

Aland and the several isles contain eight parishes, each of which has a church. Besides these places of worship, there are seven chapels. The names of the parishes are Sund, Saltvick, Finstrom, Hammarfand, Jomala, Lemland, Foglo, and Kumblinge.

The Laplanders and Fins were undoubtedly the earliest inhabitants of these islands, and their residence here is plainly to be traced in the names of places which still remain, and were in all likelihood given by them; such as Lappo, Lapbole, Lapwafs, Finby, Finstrom, Finno, Finko, and Finholm. In the parish of Sund is a natural grotto formed in the side of a mountain, about six yards in length and three in breadth, and from four to five yards in height. During the invasion of the Russians in 1714 it served

as a place of concealment ; and undoubtedly, in ancient times, this as well as many other caves were the habitations of the aborigines of the island.

Several lakes are met with in these islands, and but one rivulet, which however is sufficient to work two mills, one of which is a saw-mill. The mountains are numerous ; the highest of them is called Ulfdubs Klint.

Haga is a royal farm ; Kermundo or Germundo, and Soneroda, are styled *faterier*, or free towns, being exempted from all imposts.

Aland has a judge who constantly resides there, and likewise a physician, who besides acts as an apothecary when necessity requires. A public school was established here since 1639, but it has been shut up since 1791. The revenues which the crown of Sweden receives from Aland and the other islands, amount annually to nineteen thousand nine hundred and eighty-six rix dollars. Two hundred and ninety-eight sailors are registered in these islands, which cost the king of Sweden about five thousand rix dollars yearly.

Aland contains about three thousand seven hundred and fifty acres of land in cultivation, which produce rye, wheat, oats and barley in the proportion of seven for one. The annual growth of wheat is about twenty-two thousand five hundred barrels. There is one parish which has no arable land, and in this respect resembles Lapland. The inhabitants of this parish employ themselves in fishing, and purchase all the corn they have occasion for
of

of their neighbours. They catch vast numbers of pilchards, of which they make great profit, it being the chief traffic of these islands.

It has been long in agitation to build a city in the isle of Aland, but the project has not hitherto been carried into execution, owing, it is said, to the difficulty of chusing a proper spot for it.

The usual route from Sweden to Finland is from the post office of Grislehamn in Upland, which is eleven and a half Swedish miles, to Eckerö in Aland; and from that place across the island to Abo, which is five miles more. A Swedish mile makes between six and seven English miles.

In the year 1792 the number of inhabitants upon the island of Aland amounted to eleven thousand two hundred and sixty, which is upwards of a thousand to every square Swedish mile; a very great number when it is considered how mountainous the island is. The inhabitants of these islands live to very great ages. From the year 1692 to the present time, nine persons are recorded to have died at the great age of one hundred years; and perhaps the number had been found greater, had it been thought worth while to notice this particular. In 1703 there died a woman named Anna Berg, who was one hundred and nine years old: and at Kumblinge, in the year 1766, another person of the same sex died at an age of upwards of one hundred and twenty years. One sixth part of the inhabitants are above fifty years old; a circumstance which affords a convincing proof of the healthiness of the place.

The sea which furrounds the isle of Aland is very seldom frozen, and was less so formerly than at the present time. In 1546 it was remarked as an extraordinary event, that in that year the sea was so frozen as to be crossed on the ice. It seems latterly that these severe frosts happened once in ten years. The winter of the year 1702 was remarkably mild, so that barley was sown on the twenty-fifth of March, at which time there was plenty of pasture for cattle: considering its high latitude, Aland enjoys a very favourable climate.

In their manners and customs the inhabitants of Aland do not differ greatly from the peasants of Upland. Their marriages and funerals are celebrated much in the same manner. In Aland they usually marry about the middle of summer, and appear thereby to shew that they have no need to wait for the time of harvest to enable them to support a family.

The Alanders commonly use nourishing food; their bread is generally made of rye, even when the crops of that kind of corn have proved unfavourable. Fresh fish, and fish dried or salted, together with milk, butter, cheese, and flesh-meat, are their usual fare. They make use of the flesh of seals, and prepare a dish called *skalkroppe*, composed of collops of the flesh mixed up with flour and lard, and this they reckon excellent. In their voyages by sea they lay in a good stock of provisions, and at those times are not sparing of meat and butter.

The dress of the Alanders is becoming. The men wear, in general, short jackets, which on holidays are commonly of blue cloth.

cloth. The young peasants commonly wear cotton stockings, and many of them have even watches. The women, when full dressed, wear a petticoat and apron of camlet, cotton, or printed linen, and sometimes of silk. Their dress in mourning is generally of black silk, with a camlet petticoat. For the most part they wear caps, and several silk handkerchiefs over their necks. In their houses they are chiefly dressed in clothing of their own manufacture, of which they have a variety. The married women often appear with a number of gold rings upon their fingers, and they seem particularly fond of wearing such ornaments; yet silver spoons and goblets are less often seen in Aland than amongst the substantial farmers in Sweden.

The dwellings of the peasants are very neat and convenient, kept in good repair, and well lighted. They are usually built of wood, fir, or deal, and covered with the bark of the birch tree, or shingles. Their out-houses are mostly thatched. As they have no running streams and water-mills, scarcely any peasant is without a windmill.

The Alanders are upon the whole an ingenious, lively, and courteous people; and on the sea display a great degree of skill and resolution. As a proof of the regularity of their lives, it is only necessary to observe, that from the year 1749 to 1793, no more than seven criminals were capitally convicted, and within that space of time only seven murders committed; which is in the proportion of one execution and one murder to one thousand eight hundred natural deaths: whereas in London, during the year

1791, out of eighteen thousand seven hundred and sixty who died, thirty-seven suffered under the hands of the executioner ; and at Naples and in Sicily, six hundred murders are supposed to be perpetrated one year with another in a population of five millions. From the year 1749 to the year 1773, there were born in Aland one hundred and nineteen illegitimate children ; from 1774 to 1790, the number of these was one hundred and twenty-six ; which is in the proportion, for the first twenty-five years, of one bastard child to eighty-three legitimate children ; and for the following sixteen years, of one to fifty-three. The latter proportion, however, is in some measure a proof of an increase of moral depravity ; though it be trifling when compared with other places, such as Stockholm and Abo, where one-sixth part of the children born are illegitimate ; and if we take the births through Sweden we shall find the proportion to be one to forty-five.

The people of Aland are far from being superstitious ; but, for what reason I know not, they are accused of being of a litigious disposition.

No bears or squirrels are to be found in these islands ; and the Elk, which formerly was uncommonly numerous, is now no longer seen in them. The animals chiefly found are wolves, (which are said to cross the sea from Finland, when it has happened to be frozen over) foxes, martens, hares, ermines, bats, moles, rats, mice, &c. ; otters are but rarely met with : on the coast are found seals, &c.

Of birds there are above a hundred different species found in these

these islands. Amongst the sea fowl are the colymbus, the pelican, four different sorts of gulls, the didapper, the eider, and more than a dozen other of the tribe of ducks.

Of amphibious animals are three species of lizards, or newts, frogs, &c. Amongst the fish are found salmon, trout, cod, had-dock, ling, perch, tench, pilchards, sprats, together with a considerable number of other kinds.

The insects found in Aland amount to the number of betwixt seven and eight hundred different species: among these we shall only make mention of one, and that on account of its very destructive qualities. You often find trees in great number which have been killed by this species of insect; and, what is still more distressing and harrassing, houses newly built have been known to fall into decay and ruin in a short time, entirely by the devastation of these pernicious animals.

The Alanders pay no great attention to the culture of bees. Crawfish are not very common in these islands, and were first brought over by the queen dowager of Gustavus the first.

The Flora Suecica reckons about six hundred and eighty plants that are indigenous in Aland and the neighbouring isles; of which number one hundred and fifty are cryptogamia. Most of the trees common to Sweden are also found in Aland. Few minerals are to be met with here; and the mountains are formed chiefly of a red kind of granite.

TRAVELS
THROUGH
FINLAND.

T R A V E L S

T H R O U G H

F I N L A N D.

CHAPTER XIII.

*Arrival in Finland at the Town of Abo—Account of this City—
The Library—The University—Admiral Heding—Farther Particulars of the Town of Abo ; its Situation, Streets, Buildings—
The Cathedral—The Building of the Academy—The Harbour—
The Inhabitants of Abo—Their Trade and Commerce—The Castle, called Abo-hus.*

IN our way to Abo we passed near the castle named Abo-hus, situated at the mouth of the river Aura, upon a cape or point of land, bounded by the water on three sides.* The governor and bishop, who generally reside at Abo, happened to be absent when we arrived ; but we had the good fortune to be introduced to Admiral Heding, who received us with great politeness, and

* See a description of it, page 214.

engaged us to pass the greatest part of the two days we remained at Abo in his house. The admiral lives close to the castle.

We lodged at Seiffel's, the sign of the Victory, where our entertainment was as bad as possible; but we were obliged to put up with it, as there was no other house of the same kind in the place.

The library is the only thing in the town worthy the traveller's notice, though it is of no great consequence. Among other curiosities they shewed me a prayer-book printed by a peasant with wooden tablets, upon which he had cut the letters. In the same library there is a tolerably complete collection of Swedish medals, ancient as well as modern. The number of students at the university amounts to about three hundred. There is but one printing press in the town, and only two booksellers shops.

Their school of anatomy is in considerable repute: it is not likely to want subjects for dissection, since, by a particular regulation, all such persons as hold lands or pensions from the crown are bound to leave their bodies to be dissected at the anatomical theatre. If the same law had been extended to physicians and surgeons, it would not have appeared less rational. I made acquaintance with professor Porthaan, who shewed us every thing of any value in the library, and with great politeness gave us all the information in his power respecting our route through Finland. He also made us a present of some dissertations he had written on different subjects concerning that country.

Mr. Franqu gave me a precious specimen of national poetry,
consisting

consisting of a little song composed by a peasant girl, the servant of a clergyman, who met with a disappointment in an assignation with her lover. I shall present the reader with this piece in another place, when I come to speak of the genius of the Finlanders for poetry.

Admiral Heding is one of the most distinguished men in Sweden for talents, in the department of the marine. His present majesty does not seem to make a proper estimate of his merit, perhaps on account of the attachment he shewed to the Duke of Sudermania, during his late regency. The admiral's conversation is infinitely interesting, accompanied however with a dry frankness of manner, which on different occasions has been of prejudice to him at court. He is known in Sweden for his personal courage, for his talents, for his lively repartees and *bon mots*. He has served in the French, English, and Spanish fleets, and speaks all those languages with equal fluency, besides the Swedish and German; the last is his native tongue. Gustavus III. entertained the highest opinion of his character, and in consideration of his eminent accomplishments could forgive the frankness of his conversation, and even his *bon mots*, though sometimes they were a little too highly seasoned for the palate of a king. In the affair of Wiburg, when Gustavus suffered himself to be blocked up, Admiral Heding's frigate, called *la Folle*, not being there, he told the king that he thought he should henceforth name her *la Sage*; and when his majesty demanded his reason—"because," said he, "she was too wise to get into the same scrape with the rest of the fleet in the gulf of Wiburg."

The city of Abo is a Stapelstad,* and belongs to the Lane;† that is to say, the government and diocese of Abo. It is situated in 60 degrees 10 minutes north latitude, upon a promontory formed by the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia. It is forty-one Swedish miles from Stockholm, seventeen from Björneborg, forty-one from Wasa, sixteen from Tavastehus, and twenty-two from Helfinsfors. It stands on the side of the river Aurajocki, and is enclosed on all sides by hills, being itself in rather a low situation. The river Aurajocki, near the town, is from about sixty to a hundred yards broad; its waters are muddy and unfit for culinary purposes. The town, four thousand nine hundred and forty yards in length by two thousand four hundred and fifty in breadth, is divided into five quarters, three of which are situated south east from the river, and two to the north west, being joined by the communication of a wooden bridge. There are three open places or squares in the town, namely, the great square, which is surrounded by different public and private buildings all of stone; the new square, enclosed by wooden houses, among which is a sort of magazine, containing materials for town buildings; the other buildings are chiefly butchers' shops; and lastly, church-place: contiguous to this is the academy. The streets and lanes in Abo together amount to one hundred and two: the number

* In Sweden the towns are divided into Stapelstader, which have permission to trade with foreigners; Upstader, which have no such permission; and Bergstader, which are situated on the mountains.

† The Swedish provinces are divided into lanes or governments, which are under their respective governors.

of houses including those that were building, is upwards of one thousand one hundred ; which in 1780 contained two thousand and forty-eight families. There are no fewer than five custom-houses in this city.

The cathedral church of St. Henry is covered with wood in thin plates, or shingles, laid one over the other. In length it is one hundred and fifty yards by sixty-three and a-half in breadth, and seventy-five in height. It is the only church in Abo, and is equally appropriated for the purpose of public worship according to the Finnish and the Swedish rituals. The Swedish congregation begin their service at six o'clock in the morning, that of the Finlanders at nine. The tower is covered with a copper roof, and furnished with a clock, which is exposed, like all objects that are raised high in the air, to be struck with lightning : this accident having befallen it on different occasions, it is now protected by a conductor.

The academy, consisting of two stories, is built of stone, with three auditories, and a chamber for the academical consistory. Hard by is a saloon for gymnastic exercises, and over it two apartments for the library. The cathedral school is not essentially different from other schools, as the business of education there is the same with what you find in every town, namely, a little Latin and Hebrew. The honourable appellation of *cathedral* is given to it merely because it happens to be at a place which is the residence of a bishop. The chemical laboratory and the dissecting-room are included in the same building ; one in the first, and the

other in the second story. The cathedral occupies the centre of those public buildings.

The seat of the courts of justice, the house of the president, the custom-house, the excise-office, the town-hall, that of the council, the repository of the water-engines, and the house of the governor, are built of stone: all the rest are constructed of wood.

Near Beckholmen, about three English miles from Abo to the south west, is a small but safe harbour, by its depth of water capable of receiving the largest shipping of the town, with every convenience for loading and unloading. The smaller vessels, which draw only about eight or ten feet water, may proceed almost to the bridge.

The most ancient privileges of the city are lost; such as still remain are dated from the time of John the third, 1569.

To the royal tribunal resident here belong the governments of Abo, Tavastehus, and Heinola; it consists of three jurisdictions, twelve territorial judges, and ten other magistrates.

The governor of Abo, of Bjorneborg, and of Aland, as well as the bishop of Abo, generally live in this city.

Gustavus Adolphus, in the year 1626, established a gymnasium for the use of the town. It was afterwards, in the year 1640, converted by Queen Christina into an academy or university, and she appointed the bishop of the diocese sub-chancellor. The academies of Sweden, as has been mentioned before, have chancellors, sub-chancellors, and pretors. The professors in chemistry, anatomy,

anatomy, natural history and œconomics, have been more recently appointed, for they did not belong to the original institution. The one last mentioned was substituted in the room of a professor in poetry, which it was thought proper to unite with the profession of eloquence. This exchange of poetry, or poetical criticism, for œconomics, is no unpleasing characteristic of the present age, and a proof of the good sense of the Swedes, and progress of real knowledge in that country. The number of students, upon an average, amounts to about five hundred and fifty, absentees included.

The library owed its first existence to the liberality of Queen Christina: it was afterwards greatly augmented by a donation from the late General Stålhoudske, and also by that of some individuals, among whom are particularly distinguished Aichenholk, counsellor of state, who bestowed upon it a very considerable collection of books, manuscripts, ancient coins, &c. The same kind of liberality was shown by bishop (afterwards archbishop) Menander, who presented the university with a large quantity of rare books, manuscripts, and some relics of antiquity. The number of books in the library at present exceeds ten thousand volumes, and its annual fund for new purchases is about one hundred and fifty rix dollars or crowns.

The government of the town is placed in the hands of two burgo-masters (or mayors), the one of justice, the other of police, and six senators (or aldermen). Besides the court of the palace, and the inferior municipal jurisdictions, there are a stamp-office, an excise-office, a post-office, &c.

The citizens are divided into three classes or societies, viz. of merchants, common tradesmen, and Finland burghesses. They are formed into train-bands, or a kind of militia, consisting of three companies of foot, each of about sixty or seventy men, which are placed under the command of an officer called the town-major. The city-guard is a small body of men (about thirty-five), who perform the common duties of watchmen, for the security and quiet of the inhabitants. The town has three water-engines, and, in addition to these, the cathedral and academy have six.

Here also is an hospital, where upwards of forty persons can be accommodated. The lazaretto is intended for the sick that belong to the government of Abo exclusively. The Magdalen hospital is a charitable institution upon a small scale; it has only an annual fund of three hundred rix dollars.

This city carries on a considerable trade, both foreign and domestic. In the year 1761, its export trade employed nineteen ships,* of which fourteen belonged wholly to the inhabitants of Abo. Their destination was to Petersburg, Frederickshamn, Wiburg, Reval, Riga, and Pernau; and their cargoes consisted of salt, tiles, iron and nails, copper, pitch, tar, pots, and deals, to the amount of three thousand one hundred and twenty-two rix dollars thirty-two skillings. They likewise exported to Cadiz, Genoa, Lisbon, St. Ube's, Bourdeaux, and Amsterdam, iron, tar,

* Mr. Peuchet, in his Dictionary of Commerce under the word Abo, says, "that the ships with which this town carries on its trade are without decks;" a very unaccountable mistake.

pitch, deals, joists, &c. to the annual amount of seven thousand one hundred and eighty-seven rix dollars seven skillings. The same year there arrived at Abo sixteen ships, nine of which belonged to the citizens of the same place, and the whole value of imports from abroad amounted to one hundred and four thousand nine hundred sixty-seven rix dollars and sixteen skillings. The articles imported were, two hundred and three thousand one hundred and forty-three pounds of tobacco, twenty-one thousand five hundred and twenty-three pounds of coffee, ninety-seven casks of wine, one hundred and seventy-nine thousand and forty-six pounds of raw sugar, eighteen thousand three hundred and six and a half barrels of salt, six thousand four hundred fifty-seven barrels of rye and wheat, four thousand eight hundred and twenty hundred weight of hemp, a quantity of spices, drugs, &c. amounting in all to eighteen thousand one hundred and twenty-two rix dollars.

Abo has various manufactories: two of tobacco, one of sugar, three of silk-ribbands, two of cloth and fustian, one of sail-cloth, six tan-works, six of tile-kilns, two watch and clock manufactories, one paper-mill. The plantations of tobacco are an object of very great consequence; they produce not less than one hundred and fifty-two thousand hundred weight annually.

In the year 1761, the revenue arising to the crown from this city amounted to four thousand six hundred and seventy-five rix dollars. The number of its inhabitants in the year 1791 was eight thousand five hundred and four.

The town had been anciently built on a spot situated a quarter of a mile distant from where it now stands: it dates its origin from the introduction of christianity into this country. After being nearly consumed by fire, it was rebuilt, and put under better regulations, by the care and attention of Peter Brake, Riksdrots and governor-general of Finland, about the middle of the seventeenth century. There was formerly a mint at Abo. In the time of popery this town had two monasteries within its precincts. From the year 1714 until 1721, Abo remained under the dominion of the Russians, from whom it experienced the most cruel treatment. In the year 1743, at the conclusion of peace between Russia and Sweden, this city was finally delivered from the severities and dangers to which it had been exposed.

The castle, in the language of the country called Abo-hus or Abo-slot, is situated at the mouth of the river Aura, upon a cape bounded on three sides by the water: this is one of the most ancient fortresses of the country. It was well fortified under the kings, Albrecht, Charles VIII., Knutson, and Gustavus Vasa. Besides four towers, which were destined to oppose the approach of an enemy to the harbour, it had on the south side a high wall with a triple rampart of earth, and a double ditch. A new building has been added to the old structure, but in a different style of masonry. Abo-hus was the residence of Duke John, and the prison of King Eric XIV. in the sixteenth century. The old castle, which contains a church and a considerable arsenal, is constructed of brick walls extremely solid, and surrounded by small earthen

earthen ramparts, erected in the year 1730. It has been several times destroyed in time of war by the enemy, and at other times it has suffered from fire. Two companies of marines are at present quartered in the castle. The other apartments are partly employed as magazines for corn and gunpowder, and partly serve as a prison for state offenders.

CHAPTER XIV.

*Departure from Abo—Difficulty of Travelling without a sufficient Quantity of Snow—Tract of Country between Abo and Yerven-
kyle—Condition of the Peasantry: their Mode of Life, Dress, and
domestic Comforts—Meet with an old Minstrel—Contrivance of
putting a Sledge on Wheels—Description of an Aurora Borealis—
Reach Yervenkyle—Account of this Hamlet—Cataract near Yer-
venkyle: Appearance of it in Winter—Little Birds (*Turdus Cino-
tus*, Linn.) near the Cataracts in Winter—Dexterity of the Pea-
sants in Shooting—The Dwelling of a Peasant described, and re-
presented by a Drawing.*

WE quitted Abo the 20th of March to continue our travels towards the North. In order to be free for the future from the trouble of changing our baggage at every stage, we had provided ourselves with sledges of our own. We purchased them at Abo, and they were of the same description as those which the peasantry made use of. The winter had been extremely severe; but there had not fallen a great quantity of snow in comparison of former years. A March sun, and some days of thaw, had made it disappear entirely in many places. The sledge was often suddenly stopt, and the poor horse made repeated efforts, without effect,

effect, to drag it over the naked and sandy soil, which sunk under his feet with a sort of disagreeable crackling noise. We were every moment obliged to leave the sledge, and walk on foot till we came to ground covered with snow, or to a frozen lake or river. This mode of travelling at last became extremely tiresome, but having no alternative, we endeavoured to submit to it cheerfully. In many places the snow had been melted on the middle of the road, but still remained on the sides and at the edge of the ditches. In those situations not infrequently the love of ease induced us to try the expedient of risking the sledge on the edge of the ditch, which constantly gave way, and our indolence availed nothing. The horse was unable to keep in the precise line, and constantly drawing to one side or to the other, we were every now and then overturned in the ditch, and plunged over the cars in the snow.

This species of sledge, being extremely narrow, is very easily overturned; but as it is at the same time very low, the fall is accompanied with no manner of danger, and when the road is in a proper state it goes very steadily and safely; but when the sun has begun to melt the snow, and this partial thaw, as often happens, is succeeded by a fresh attack of the frost, then there is formed on the declivities of the road a polished mirror of ice, which occasions much trouble and difficulty to the traveller. The sledge in descending never keeps in a direct line, but is hitched out of its proper direction by the smallest accident: when turned sideways, it slips all at once out of the road, and is overturned

either into the ditch or against a tree, and sometimes twists the horse, and throws him down along with it. We were often obliged to get out of the sledge, but our boots being too slippery to support us on an inclined plane of smooth ice, we were reduced to the necessity of sitting down, and of sliding gently to the bottom of the descent.

In the whole way from Abo to Yervenkyle the traveller finds nothing sufficiently interesting to merit a place in his journal. The country is in a great measure flat, and it is not till he is about a mile from Yervenkyle that it begins to become somewhat mountainous, without however presenting him with any remarkable prospect.

The houses of the peasants are well built, and the stranger finds every where lodging and beds; and he may be tolerably accommodated, if he have the precaution to carry some conveniences along with him. You are received with great hospitality; the peasant furnishes you with whatever he has got to eat, though, in general, he can only offer you fresh and curdled milk, salt herrings, and perhaps, as before-mentioned, a little salt meat. In comparison with those who travel among them they are poor, but in relation to themselves they are rich, since they are supplied with every thing that constitutes, in their opinion, good living. If they have more money than they have immediate use for, they lay it up for some unforeseen emergency, or convert it into a vase, or some other domestic utensil. You must not be surprised in Finland, if in a small wooden house, where you can
get

get nothing but herrings and milk, they should bring you water in a silver vessel of the value of fifty or sixty rix dollars. The women are warmly clad; above their clothes they wear a linen shift, which gives them the air of being in a sort of undress, and produces an odd though not disagreeable fancy. The inside of the house is always warm, and indeed too much so for one who comes out of the external air, and is not accustomed to that temperature. The peasants remain in the house constantly in their shirt sleeves, without a coat, and with but a single waistcoat; they frequently go abroad in the same dress, without dread either of rheumatism or fever. We shall see the reason of this when we come to speak of their baths. The Finlanders, who accompany travellers behind their sledges, are generally dressed in a kind of short coat made of a calf's-skin, or in a woollen shirt, fastened round the middle with a girdle. They pull over their boots coarse woollen stockings, which have the double advantage of keeping them warm, and preventing them from slipping on the ice.

The interior of the peasants' house presents a picture of considerable interest. The women are occupied in teasing or spinning wool for their clothing, the men in cutting faggots, making nets, and mending or constructing their sledges.

We met at Mamola with a blind old man, having his fiddle under his arm, surrounded by a crowd of boys and girls. There was something respectable in his appearance; his forehead was bald, a long beard descended from his chin, white as snow, and

covered his breast. He had the look of those bards who are described with so much enthusiasm in the history of the North, not one of whom probably was equal to this poor man in science or intelligence. His audience were not gathered round him for nothing: he sang verses, and related to them tales and anecdotes; but our presence broke in upon the silence and tranquillity of the assembly; every body withdrew; children are children in all countries. The sight of strangers was such a novelty, that, forgetting the bard, they began to mock at our figure, and to laugh in our faces, while the poor mendicant finished by asking us, in bad Swedish, some halfpence or skillings in charity.

Night was approaching, and we were extremely fatigued with our amphibious mode of travelling, half on foot and half in the sledge. In this emergency I had a strong proof of the utility of an invention which I was shewn in the model repository at Stockholm: it was a sledge, with four wheels suspended from its sides, which by means of a spring could be placed under the sledge, and raise it from the ground; and thus in a moment convert the sledge into a species of wheel carriage.

On the 30th of March towards midnight, we were still upon the road, suffering from a cold of 13 degrees of Celsius, when an aurora borealis presented us with a magnificent spectacle, which served to relieve the irksome monotony of our journey. The heavens began to appear illuminated in the quarter of the north; presently it assumed a bright ruby colour, such as we have on a fine evening in Italy with the setting sun, when, as Virgil says,
and

and as experience has often proved, a lively red as the sun goes down prognosticates fine weather for to-morrow. This phenomenon had just fixed our attention, when behold a luminous arch rose over the pole. This was accompanied by various other light and fleeting arches, which shifted from place to place every instant: they were bounded here and there by vivid flames and torches, which issued in rapid succession from the skies, communicating fire to the clouds in their vicinity, tinging their gilded edges, and exhibiting a picture highly interesting to us, unaccustomed as we were to such appearances.

At length we had the good fortune to reach Yervenkylä, a small district which belongs to the university of Åbo, and which is let to a very obliging peasant. This man gave us a bed-chamber, accommodated us as well as he could, and contrived, by his great hospitality, to render three days necessary repose very agreeable. Some detail on this simple and retired mansion, standing at a small distance from a beautiful cascade (a situation which afforded us much interesting amusement, both as painters and sportsmen), will not be disagreeable to my curious readers, who may be desirous to know rather minutely the particulars of this part of Finland.

Yervenkylä is a small village consisting of three or four families, and situated upon a lake. During the winter season people do not pass through this place on their way to Wasa. Our motive in coming here was to enjoy a little rest, as well as to have a view of a fine cascade of very considerable magnitude, which is at the distance

distance of a quarter of a league from the village. We had been extremely anxious to see a cataract in winter, and that of Yervenkyle did not disappoint our expectations.

It is formed by the river Kyro, which, issuing from a lake of the same name, precipitates itself through some steep and rugged rocks, and falls, so far as I could guess, from a height of about seventy yards. The water dashing from rock to rock, boils and foams till it reaches the bottom, where it pursues a more tranquil course, and after making a large circuit loses itself again between mountainous banks, which are covered with fir trees. That we might have a more commanding view of the picture, we took our station on a high ground, from which we had a distant prospect of a large tract of country of a varied surface, and almost wholly covered with woods of firs, the pleasing verdure of which acquiring additional lustre from the solar rays, formed an agreeable contrast with the snow and masses of ice hanging from the margin over the cascade.

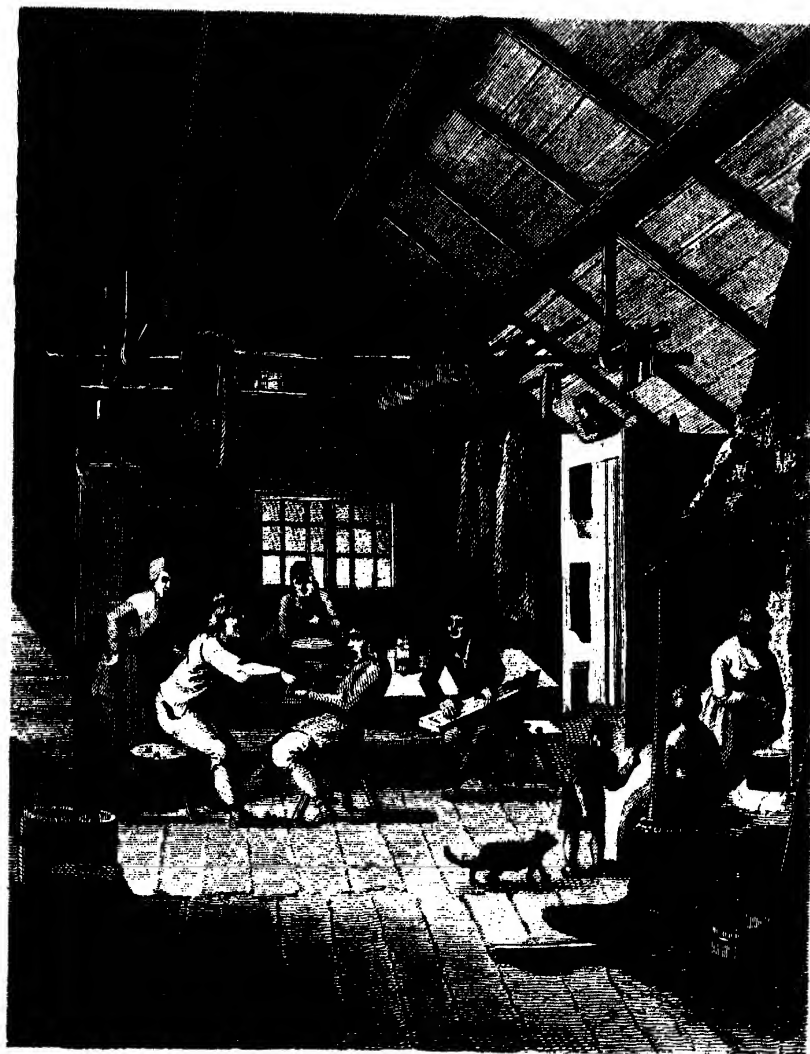
The fall presented us with one of those appearances which we desired much to see, as being peculiar to the regions of the North, and which are never to be met with in Italy. The water, throwing itself amidst enormous masses of ice which here and there have the aspect of gloomy vaults, fringed with curious crystallizations, and the cold being of such rigour as almost to freeze the agitated waves and vapours in the air, had formed gradually two bridges of ice across the cascade of such solidity and strength, that men passed over them in perfect security. The waves raging and
foaming

foaming below with a vast noise, were in a state of such violent motion as to spout water now and then on the top of the bridge; a circumstance which rendered its surface so exceedingly slippery, that the peasants were obliged to pass it creeping on their hands and knees.

We repeatedly visited this picturesque cascade, and took several drawings of it in different points of view. We always performed this walk with guns in our hands, in case we should fall in with a hare, a fox, or a wolf, whose numerous tracks we met with in the woods. We sought them a whole day in the heart of the forest with a hope, and not without some little fear, of finding these ferocious animals; but were continually and perhaps happily disappointed. We discovered every where marks of their ravages, such as the remains of animal carcasses, but never got sight of either. The probable cause of our being disappointed in not finding game arose from the necessity we were under to search without a dog. Not one was to be found in the village nor in the whole neighbourhood of Yervenkylä, which, according to the report of our landlord, was owing to the wolves setting upon them at the very doors, and even in the houses themselves of the inhabitants. Being unable therefore to find either hare, fox, or wolf, we were forced to take up with smaller game, and divert ourselves by killing those little birds which in the North always fly during winter near the cataract, and which I never saw in Italy. This species is named by Linnæus *turdus cinctus*.

Some peasants who dwelt at a mill on the contrary side of the bridge,

bridge, made themselves extremely merry at our folly in spending powder and lead on birds which in their minds were of little or no value. But as they remarked our serious air and seeming disappointment at missing them, they began to imagine that they might oblige us by killing some on their side, and bringing them to us. Presently we saw one of them fetch out his gun, and, after firing his shot, creep over the bridge to present us with one of those birds. I thanked him, but observing that the bird wanted the head, I made him understand that this circumstance rendered it not desirable to me, and that I wished to have it entire. I examined his gun, which I found had an old rifle-barrel, but of a very small bore, and that it was with a ball he had killed the bird. I then shewed him the small shot, and made signs to him that he should charge his piece with this. The honest peasant was not a little astonished at the sight of my small lead, which probably he had never seen before. He declined my offer, and loaded as usual with ball, but intimated to me that he would bring me another bird with its head. My friend departed, fired his piece, and brought me a bird of the same species, which, that he might have it as entire as possible, he had but slightly grazed under the throat. I was much surprized at the precision of his aim, but was afterwards assured that all the peasants shoot with those rifle-guns, and that they hardly ever miss their mark; that they send quantities of water quails and other birds killed in this manner to Stockholm; and that they prefer this kind of fowling-piece to any other on account of its narrow bore, which



Extraordinary

of mying in Lincolns.

CHAPTER XV.

Departure from Yervenkyle—Progress through a large Forest—Danger to be apprehended from Wolves—Vestiges of a Conflagration in the Wood—Frequency of these Conflagrations, and the Causes thereof—Devastation occasioned among the Trees of the Forest by Storms—Road through the Forest; its Inconveniencies—Passage over the Ice; the Fears and Alarms with which it is attended—The generous Simplicity of some Peasants who served as Guides.

ON leaving the village of Yervenkyle, we came upon a wood or forest, famous in Finland for its size, and particularly its vast length, which is about eighty English miles. We had to traverse it in its full extent, and I was inclined to compose myself to sleep the whole way, in order to elude the irksomeness of a road that promised so little variety, and that I might make a proper use of the sullen gloom caused by the thickness of the trees. Besides, I was confident that neither robbers nor beasts of prey would interrupt my repose; the first being unknown in the country, and the second rarely so pressed with hunger as to become bold enough to set upon travellers. The only wild beasts to be dreaded in this wood are the wolves, which even when starving will not venture to attack a man, though they

may not spare his horse. But it sometimes happens that the wolves, in the anguish of famine flock together, lose their usual timidity, and from the confidence of association become so intrepid as to set upon the horses yoked to sledges. In such an attack it is extremely dangerous to be overturned and left upon the road by the horse : he naturally takes fright, and sometimes makes his escape ; then the wolves perceiving the traveller defenceless upon the ground, fall upon and devour him. These accidents, however, are not at all to be apprehended by a numerous party like our's, as the wolves keep at a distance, and fly at the noise of sledges and the voices of several people. We saw abundance of their tracks every where on our route, but we did not perceive a single wolf, nor any ravenous animal except foxes, which used to look us steadily in the face for a moment, while we amused ourselves by whistling after them.

The dreary silence and obscurity of a thick wood, whose branches forming a vaulted roof, cut off the traveller from a view of the skies, and admit only faint and dubious rays of light, is always an imposing object to the imagination ; the awful impression the mind experiences under this majestic gloom, this dismal solitude, this desertion of nature, is not to be described. The temperature of the air is much milder in the interior of this wood than the external atmosphere ; a difference which is extremely perceptible to one who like us enters the wood after traversing a lake or open plain. The only noise the traveller hears in this forest is the bursting of the bark of the trees, from the effect of the frost, which produces a loud but dull sound.

This journey was by no means so uninteresting as I had expected it would be. Partial fires, conflagrations and tempests had committed frightful ravages in the bosom of this forest, which presented us here and there with exhibitions highly surprising and impressive. Every body has heard of the conflagrations so frequent in Sweden, and in the countries of the North in general. Entire mountains and tracts of several miles covered with woods, are liable to be devoured by flames. Much has been said and written in order to explain the origin of those fires. Some have attributed them to the rays of the sun, which continue so long above the horizon : but this is fabulous and unworthy of serious attention. The presence of the sun never produced such an effect, and the less so in Sweden and Finland, where the heat of the solar rays never rises above fifty or sixty degrees of Celsius, which is far below the power necessary to produce a conflagration. It has been incontestibly proved by a series of observations, that between the greatest summer's heat and the severest winter's cold known, there is only one thirty-second of difference.*

There are two special causes of those conflagrations. The first is simple and accidental, and arises from the carelessness of the peasants, who travel smoking their pipes through this wood, where a spark falling upon withered leaves or plants, with the assistance of a little wind, cannot fail to excite fire and even flame. This is not all; the peasants frequently make a fire in the wood, either to warm themselves or to cook their victuals, and are often

* *Lettres sur l'Origine des Sciences, &c. par M. Baillic, p. 292.*

too negligent to extinguish it entirely. The second cause we may trace to the political constitution and laws of the country ; generally speaking, it is in the crown forests that those conflagrations take place. In many districts the peasants obtain their wood from the king's forests, and pay for it a certain tax. There are precise limits within which they are permitted to cut, and they are liable to be punished with a fine, if they are found to proceed in their operations beyond the fixed boundaries : but if a fire happens to break out in any part of a forest belonging to the crown, the peasantry of that district have a right to cut down and carry home such trees as have been injured by the burning. Thus the peasants who are in want of wood, and have too small a share in the forest for the supply of their demands, are prompted from an interested motive to set fire to it in their own neighbourhood, being entitled to appropriate whatever trees have been touched by the flames, which are generally in such abundance as to stock a housekeeper with wood for four, or perhaps six years, according to the magnitude of the ravages which the forest has suffered. It would appear that the government, if it were aware of the circumstance, might effectually check these unlawful acts ; not so effectually by inflicting heavy punishments, as by ordering that the peasants should pay the same sum for the use of the wood that might be gathered, injured by conflagration, as for that in a sound state ; and that till the former was used they should not be allowed to cut any wood in the forest. There may, however, be difficulties in executing such measures, which a
stranger

stranger is not acquainted with ; and hence we will not blame the government for what may not perhaps be in its power to remedy.

I saw in this forest the disastrous wreck of one of those conflagrations, which had devoured the wood through an extent of six or seven miles, and which exhibited a most dismal spectacle. You not only saw trunks and large remains of trees lying in confusion on the ground, and reduced to the state of charcoal, but also trees standing upright, which, though they had escaped destruction, had yet been miserably scorched : others, black and bending down to one side, whilst in the midst of the ruins of trunk and branches appeared a group of young trees, rising to replace the former generation ; and, full of vigour and vegetable life, seemed to be deriving their nourishment from the ashes of their parents.

The devastations occasioned by storms in the midst of those forests is still more impressive, and presents a picture still more diversified and majestic. It seems wholly inconceivable in what manner the wind pierces through the thick assemblage of those woods, carrying ruin and desolation into particular districts, where there is neither opening nor scope for its ravages. Possibly it descends perpendicularly from heaven in the nature of a tornado, or whirlwind, whose violence nothing can oppose, and which triumphs over all resistance. Trees of enormous size are torn from their roots, magnificent pines, which would have braved on the ocean tempests more furious, are bent like a bow, and touch the
earth

earth with their humbled tops. Such as might be thought capable of making the stoutest resistance are the most roughly treated ; and those hurricanes, like the thunder of heaven, which strikes only the loftiest objects, passing over the young, and sparing them, because they are more pliant and flexible, seem to mark the strongest and most robust trees of the forest, which are in condition to meet them with a proud opposition, as alone worthy of their rage. Let the reader fancy to himself three or four miles of forest, where he is continually in the presence of this disastrous spectacle ; let him represent to his imagination the view of a thick wood, where he can scarcely see one upright tree ; where all of them being thus forcibly inclined, are either propped by one another, or broken in the middle of the trunk, or torn from their roots and prostrated on the ground : every where trunks, branches, and the ruins of the forest, interrupting his view of the road, and exhibiting a singular picture of confusion and ruin.

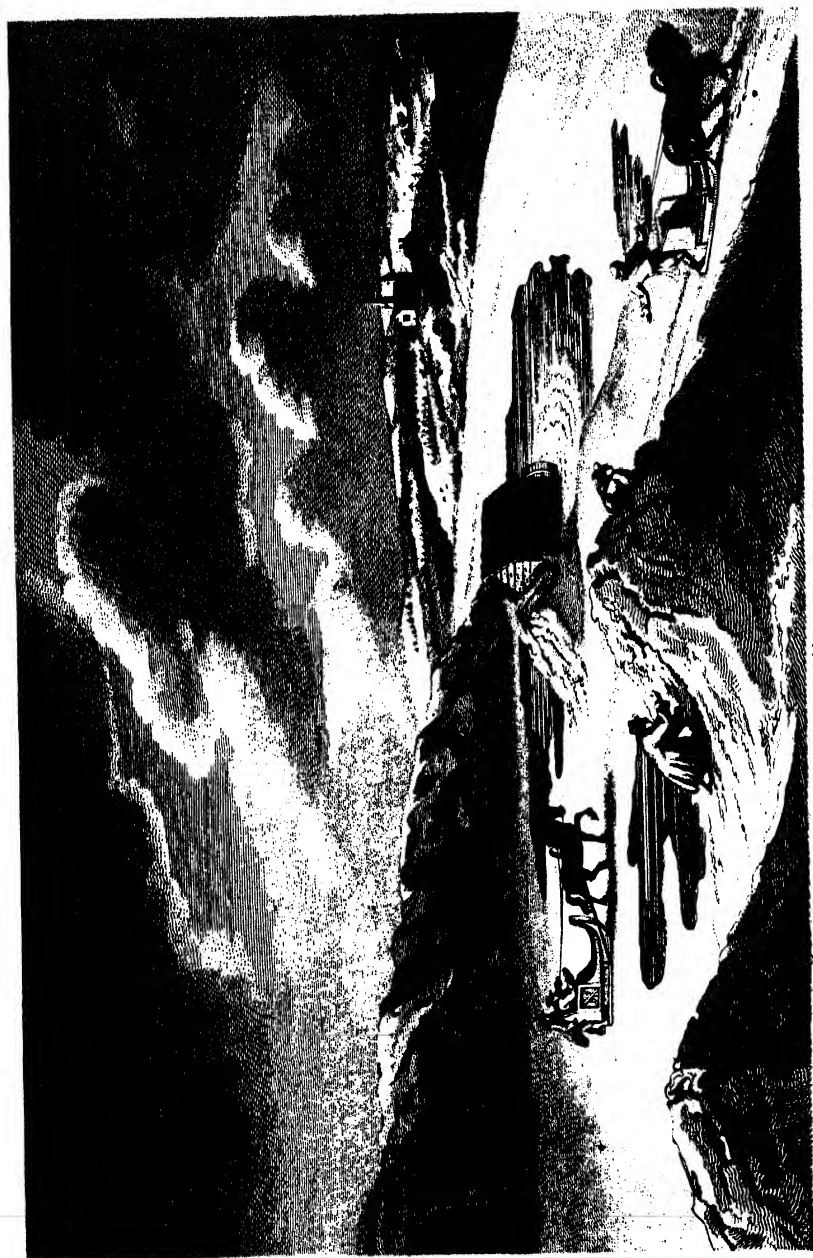
There is a great road through the midst of this forest which may be tolerably suited for travelling in summer ; but the peasants do not always continue upon it during the winter season ; for then they find no difficulty in traversing a lake or a river, and are not obliged to follow the windings which the great line of road naturally makes, in order to avoid accidental interruptions : they constantly study to proceed as much as possible in a straight line ; and that they may not lose themselves in those dark and melancholy woods, the first who lights upon the most convenient way, marks all the trees with an axe (as is done in America), in order

to

to point out the route to such as may come after him. Those roads, however, are full of stones, which render travelling extremely unpleasant. Our bones were severely bruised by the eternal jolting of the sledge. After the embarrassments of this forest, we received some compensation for our slow and tedious progress, by the agreeable sensation we experienced in crossing a lake, where we seemed to fly with all the velocity our horses were capable of, and without being in the least shaken. We courageously braved the danger of destruction with which the cracking of the ice seemed to threaten us, and disregarded the rents which ran in all directions under our feet. We certainly should not have encountered the perils we were exposed to in crossing this river, had we not found travelling by land a thousand times more fatiguing and disagreeable, both on account of the bad state of the surface for our mode of travelling, and the inconvenience of the stones which sometimes made us start from the sledge, before we were aware of the obstacle that lay in our way.

It was principally between Tuokola and Gumsila that we found travelling on the river harassing and dangerous; and we should probably have perished but for the assistance of two peasants, who undertook to serve us as guides, and point out to us the places of the river where the ice was strongest and in best condition to support us. Between Tuokola and Gumsila the river is extremely rapid, and the current being stronger in some places than in others, the ice in those parts is of a slender texture, so that it was necessary, in order to ensure our safety, to have a perfect knowledge of the

direction of the current in summer. Our guides went before us in their sledge, and we followed close behind them with all the precision which an affair of such delicacy and importance requires. Having come to a part of the river which was almost entirely open, we thought it would be imprudent to attempt to pass it. We had however no alternative, but either to return and travel five or six miles by land, with all its known inconveniencies, or passing hard by a house, to make our horses leap a barrier, and drag the sledge over a heap of stones, till we should arrive again at the ice of the same river. We chose to prefer this last mode of proceeding; the horses cleared the barrier, we all gave our assistance to lift up the sledge and throw it on the other side, and we re-embarked on the ice close by a little mill. Having got upon the ice, we were much surprised and concerned to find, that we had given ourselves all this trouble only to reach a place where we had perils still more alarming to encounter. The river was open on both sides, and it was necessary for the sledge to pass over a crust of ice which had maintained itself in the middle, and under which the water made a frightful noise. Our guides, who ventured on it first, assured us that there was no danger, and that when we had crossed this piece we should have nothing more to fear during the remainder of our journey. It was at the moment a bitter pill to swallow; but it promised to procure us much comfort afterwards. Although our guides had by this time got to the other side, our anxiety was not diminished; we were unable to conquer the reluctance excited in our minds by the view and
noise



noise of the water, the rapidity of the current, which shewed itself at two openings, and by the apparent fragility of the crust of ice which was to support us in the midst of the stream. With exemplary discretion we embraced the wise expedient (which made our Finlandish peasants laugh immoderately) of creeping upon our knees, passing a hillock of ice that obstructed our way in that humble posture, and of sliding on our seat to the opposite side, where we joined our sledge, which waited our arrival. This ridiculous scene was highly entertaining, and converted into mirth the terror of all our dangers.

Having crossed the river at this place, our guides informed us, that we had no farther occasion for them, and that we might pursue our journey without the smallest apprehension. They instantly left us without waiting for any sort of recompence for their services; and when we called them back and offered them money, they seemed astonished that we should think of rewarding them. One of them remained deaf to all our importunities, refused our money with firmness and dignity, and went away without it. Our narrow minds, that are filled with notions of what is called refinement, are at a loss to conceive how those people, who appear so poor and low in our eyes, merely because they have not a coat cut after the model of our's, should refuse money, and submit to so much toil only for the pleasure of being useful to others, and for the *insipid* satisfaction of doing good. Such examples, but too rare and too little known in the polished circles of great towns, are not so in those places which are far removed from a metropolis,

where morals have become the victim of selfish and corrupt passions. It is the traveller, who, constantly carrying about with him his ideas of civilization (which is often only a different name for a system of refined selfishness), introduces his degraded notions into the bosom of a simple people, obliging from instinct, and generous and beneficent from nature. We for ever consider it as incumbent upon us to reward every little attention with money; and knowing no gratification equal to that of receiving pecuniary acknowledgment, we render the purest pleasures of our nature venal by the recompences we bestow, and corrupt and debase, by views of interest, that sense of duty which is cherished by a sentiment of pleasure, and enjoyed by every moral heart upon performing a good action to his fellow men.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Journey continued—Brightness and Transparency of the Ice, and the probable Reason of it—Stop at Sillanpe—Arrival at Wasa—Account of this Town: its Situation, Trade, and Inhabitants—The Tribunal for the Government of the North of Finland, at Wasa—The President and Governor—Anecdotes of Linnæus.

BEFORE we reached Wasa, we were still not without some apprehension from travelling on the rivers of Finland. Hitherto the ice being covered with snow of a dirty surface, and far from shewing the smallest transparency, made us for the most part forget that we went upon water; we were now to learn what sort of sensation we should experience in passing over a river, where the ice, transparent as crystal, discovered under our feet the whole depth of the element below, inasmuch that we could see even the smallest fishes. In the first moment of surprize, having had no previous notice of the change, we fancied ourselves inevitably lost, and that we should be swallowed up, and perish in the awful gulf. Even the horse himself was startled at the novelty of his situation; he suddenly stopped short, and seemed unwilling to go forward. But the impulse he had acquired in travelling pushed him forward in spite of himself, and he slid, or rather skated upon his four jointless legs,

legs, for the space of eight or ten yards. This strange mode of travelling with a skating horse, upon an element where we could count the fishes under the sledge and under the horse's feet, was not very amusing to us, though we were already accustomed to a road of ice. I was at some pains to satisfy myself as to the reason why the ice was so clear and pellucid in particular parts of the river only; and I think I discovered it in the united action of the solar rays and of the wind. The wind having swept away the snow and cleared the surface of the ice, the sun, at the end of March and beginning of April, having acquired considerable force, had melted and rendered smooth the surface, which at first is always somewhat rough and uneven; this being frozen during the night, formed a mirror of the most perfect polish. The lustre of the ice on this river is very remarkable; had it not been for the little shining and perpendicular fissures, which shewed the diameter of the ice's thickness, it would have been utterly impossible for us to distinguish it from the water below. Where the river happened to be of a profound depth, we could perceive our vast distance from the bottom only by an indistinct greenish colour: the reflection that we were suspended over such an abyss made us shudder. Under this terrifying impression, the vast depth of the river, and dazzled by the extraordinary transparency and brilliancy of the ice, we crept along the surface, and felt inclined to shut our eyes, or turn away our heads, that we might be less sensible of our danger. But when the river happened to be only a yard or two deep, we were amused to be able to count the pebbles at the bottom of the water, and to frighten the fishes with our feet.

Before our arrival at Wasa we still endured much bodily fatigue from the rough motion of the sledge; and we were obliged to make a pause at a small place called Sillanpe, which served as a stage or post-house. Here we found a public house kept by a widow, and so overjoyed were we to meet again with the comforts of life, that we remained with her two whole days.

Wasa is the first town you meet with upon entering Ostrobothnia. It is built entirely of wood, and the houses for the greater part only consist of one story. Wasa is a considerable stapelstad, situated under the 64th degree of north latitude. It is one hundred and sixty-two miles from Stockholm, forty-one from Abo, fourteen from Gamla Carleby, and eight and a half from Ny Carleby. The town was founded, with a parish church, Mustasaari, by Charles IX. It was endowed with certain privileges in 1611, and named after the illustrious house of Wasa, being at the same time honoured with the permission of bearing the arms of that family. The late king of Sweden, Gustavus III. established at Wasa, in the year 1775, a tribunal, or supreme council for the north of Finland, the institution of which was celebrated with great pomp at Stockholm, on the 26th of June, 1776. In its dependance are three governments, viz. Wasa, Uleåborg, and Knopia,* two jurisdictions, and seven territorial judges.

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* Before this institution the inhabitants of those districts were under the necessity of carrying their disputes to Abo. After informing myself as well as I could respecting the administration of this tribunal, I found that there are a third more law-suits now than there used to be when the people were obliged to carry them

The building appropriated to the sittings of the courts is built of stone close to the town, and upon the declivity of a rising ground to the south-east, opposite to the governor's palace and the royal farm of Thorsholm. This edifice is seventy yards in length by twenty-seven in breadth, and thirty-three in height, and consists of three stories. In front it is ornamented with a clock. It is of the doric order of architecture, and is altogether one of the handsomest buildings in the kingdom. On the frieze is observable the following inscription: "Gustavus III. R. S. "anno Imperii XII. extruxit Themidique dicavit." To the westward is an open place, a hundred yards broad, and two hundred and fifty-five in length, called the market-place of Gustavus, from which, opposite to the front of the house, runs an avenue of four rows of trees on each side, a hundred yards broad, and five hundred long. Around the market-place are erected the houses of the members of the tribunal, in a style of perfect symmetry. The inhabitants, for the ornament of the town, have begun to plant avenues of trees to the east, north and south of the railing that incloses the building.

The town of Wasa is in a very improving condition, both as to the daily extension of its trade, and the increasing number of its commodities. As it now stands, it covers a surface of sixteen hundred yards in length, and a thousand in breadth, and contains

to so great a distance; which seems to prove that tribunals and lawyers multiply law-suits, just as physicians are said sometimes to have added to the number of diseases.

seventeen streets, seven of which run from north to south, and cut the remaining ten at right angles. The streets are all straight and not too narrow: Here is a church which in common belongs to the town and the parish of Mustafaari; also a school and a lazaretto. The burying ground is upon a neat plain of considerable elevation, at a quarter of a mile's distance from the town. Besides the supreme court, which is constituted by the burgomasters and counsellors, there is likewise a subordinate court of justice, which is the only one in this government.

The trade of this town with foreign nations is rather considerable: their chief articles of exportation are tar, pitch, rafters, deals which they send to Stockholm, besides rye, butter, butchers' meat chiefly beef, oil of seals, skins, tallow, &c.: ships for sale, which are generally constructed of fir, are also built here. Wasa has an annual market or fair, on the 24th of August, but it is of little consequence.

Among the establishments of public utility you may reckon a medicine repository (which in England would be called a medicine warehouse, or apothecary's shop), a medical or botanical garden, a cloth manufacture, a workhouse for twisting tobacco, and a plantation of seven acres of that *destroyer of men's morals as well as health*,* three tan yards; a manufactory for oil from the seal, two dye-houses, and a building for the boiling of pitch.

The old harbour is difficult of access, but there is a new one

* Thus wrote King James I. of England. What absurd opinion is there that has not been sanctioned by authors!

situated a mile from the former, which is more convenient. In the year 1794 six ships were employed for foreign and three for home trade.

In the year 1790, Wasa consisted of three hundred and eighty-four houses and house-heads, four hundred and fifty-five families, eleven hundred and fifty-five citizens paying taxes, of between fifteen and sixty years of age. The number of males was in all two thousand one hundred and seventy-six. The town is bound to equip nine sailors for the royal navy. The revenue of the maritime custom-house for the year 1784 was eighteen hundred and fifteen rix dollars.

In the vicinity of the town are springs of mineral water, called Gustavus's wells, after the present prince royal: they were first discovered in the year 1750. Since the royal tribunal was established here, a new high road has been made by order of his majesty, which goes through the parishes of Happon, Alajauoi, Saurejavoi, and from Haukas to Cuopio, a town of Savolax. Having paid our compliments to the president and governor, we had presently an invitation to dine with them. They made it their business to invite the most interesting society of Wasa to meet us: they treated us magnificently, and in the same style of ceremony that we had experienced at Stockholm; for here, as in other countries, the towns of the provinces always look up to, and study to imitate the manners of the capital.

It seemed to me like a dream to meet here a lady so amiable, so well informed, and so polished in her manners as we found the wife

wife of the president of the court of justice: she understands Italian and French, and has acquired a taste for the beauties of our best Italian poets.

I saw at the house of the president a very intelligent and conversable clergyman. We had much conversation concerning the Finlanders, especially on the subject of their poetry, and he mentioned a variety of interesting particulars. Speaking of Linnæus with whom he had been well acquainted at Upsala, he had much to say on the character of the Swedish naturalist, and dwelt particularly on the extreme vanity which that great man seems to have carried to the most disgusting length. He related to me some anecdotes which gave strong indications of that weakness. A lady of the province of Upsala, who had never been beyond its boundaries, applied to a friend of Linnæus for a letter of recommendation, that she might have an opportunity of making the acquaintance of this eminent character, and at the same time see his collection. The philosopher received her with much politeness, and as he was shewing her the museum, the good lady was so filled with astonishment at the sight of an assemblage of such a number of different objects, upon each of which Linnæus had always something to remark, that she exclaimed with a sigh, *I no longer wonder that Linnæus is so well known over the whole province of Upsala!* Linnæus, who instead of *the province of Upsala* expected to hear *the whole universe*, was so shocked, that he would shew her nothing more of the museum, and sent the lady away quite confounded at the change of his humour, and at the same time

firmly believing that her high encomium had wounded the feelings of the great philosopher. One day, being in a melancholy temper, he gave orders that no person should be admitted to him, and placed himself, in his bed-gown and night-cap, sad and pensive upon his sofa. An officer in the Swedish service arrived with a party of ladies, who had made a journey for the express purpose of seeing the Linnæan collection. The officer was denied admittance; but being aware of Linnæus's caprice, he would not be refused by the servant, but pushed by him, and entered the chamber where Linnæus was sitting. At first some indignation was shewn at this intrusion; but the officer introduced the ladies with a most extravagant panegyric, to *the illustrious philosopher, who was the sole object of their journey; to the man whom the whole world allowed to be the greatest; to that man who had put nature herself to the rack in order to discover her dearest secrets, &c.* Linnæus's surly humour instantly forsook him, and he never appeared more amiable in his manners than to this officer, whom he embraced tenderly, calling him his true friend, &c. &c. He was so singularly enamoured of praise, that his mind was never in that sedate state which would have enabled him to distinguish true commendation from flattery and deception. The clergyman, who at first could not credit such reports, was convinced of their reality by one of his friends, who composed so ridiculous an eulogy for Linnæus, that the weakest child might have treated it as a farce or satire: it was worded in the bombast of the middle ages, or in the Asiatic style: he called him the sun of botanists,

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the Jupiter of the *literati*, the secretary of nature, an ocean of science, a moving mountain of erudition, and other appellations to the same effect. Linnæus, far from feeling displeasure at such excessive and ridiculous compliments, interrupted the panegyrist at each phrase, embracing him, and calling him his dearest friend.

The governor invited us to dine with him the following day. At table, talking of œconomy, it was agreed by the company that Wasa was the town of all others where one may live on the cheapest terms. A woodcock, which at Stockholm would cost thirty-two Swedish skillings, or sixteen pence English, is bought at Wasa for four. The price of a water-quail at Stockholm, twelve skillings, here is only two skillings the pair. Fire wood costs almost nothing, except the trouble of cutting it. The clergyman observed, that for three rix dollars he kept a fire in his apartment every day without intermission during eight months of the year.

The president is the first person in Wasa, though, as his salary is paid in paper, or rix-geld, he has about a thousand rix dollars less than the governor, whose appointment consists in provisions or natural produce, by which he regularly clears an annual income of two thousand four hundred rix dollars; a sum more than sufficient to enable him to live in this place like a great lord.

CHAPTER XVII.

*Departure from Wasa—Inconveniencies of the Journey over the Ice—
Arrival at Gamla Carleby—Account of this Town—Proceed on
the Journey: new Difficulties arising from the Ice—Account of
Brahestad—Arrival at Uleåborg.*

AS travelling in the sledge becomes extremely difficult at this advanced period of the season, we foresaw that we should have a very painful and disagreeable journey from Wasa to Uleåborg. The governor of Wasa earnestly employed himself to trace out for us a route, by which we might travel the greater part of the distance upon the ice; at the same time he issued an order, by which the peasants of those districts through which we were to pass, were enjoined to supply us with horses all the way to the frontiers of his government. This was an additional mark of the obliging attention which we had experienced in so many instances from him during our stay; but his orders in their execution were by no means of that advantage to us which we had reason to expect, for the peasants in those parts are not at all in the habit of conducting travellers, and are in want of many things necessary for that purpose. Their sledges are ill constructed; they are extremely slow in yoking their horses, and have not a sufficient supply:

we

we therefore were constantly obliged to wait for some hours before they had prepared for our departure.

The journey from Wasa to Uleåborg is about one hundred and ninety English miles. We pursued our course along the coast, crossing rivers, woods, and branches of the sea, and were sometimes at a considerable distance from the shore. The whole of this vast tract of country is flat, and abounds in woods of firs and pines of a very large size. The coasts are naked and stony, and present rocks and islets without the smallest appearance of vegetation. We proceeded with the greatest diligence, but we became extremely wearied by the mode of travelling we were obliged to adopt. Before we arrived at Gamla Carleby, we saw at sea two frigates, and soon after passed four or five merchant ships which the ice had detained, and constrained to pass the winter in those regions.

Gamla Carleby is a decent town, situated in a small gulf of the sea, and has some trade: it is at the distance of one hundred and forty-six Swedish miles from Stockholm, if you go the usual north road towards Torneå, fifty-five from Abo, and fourteen from Wasa. It was founded in the year 1620 by Gustavus Adolphus, who conferred upon it certain privileges, which have been confirmed to the inhabitants at different periods since that time. The town is regularly built, with a handsome market-place, five streets in its length and five in its breadth, which are each twenty yards wide; and it contains two hundred and fourteen households, or lots for houses. In the year 1790 there were here thirty-

one merchants, three hundred and twenty-eight families, eight hundred and twenty-seven persons paying taxes; and the whole number of inhabitants was one thousand three hundred and sixty-seven. The town has a church built of wood for the use of its own inhabitants, and the burying ground is on the outside of the town.

The harbour, on account of a sand bank which blocks up its entrance, is inaccessible to ships heavy laden and drawing much water, its depth being only from twelve to thirteen feet, so that large vessels are compelled to lie in the road while they load and unload: it is to be hoped, however, that this inconvenience will soon be remedied. The town has also a place for loading in the parish Kalajoki, with a dock, and carries on a considerable trade in ships built for exportation, in tanning, deals, butter, tallow, and hops. It had in the year 1794 fourteen ships (amounting altogether to one thousand five hundred and thirty-six tons), of which thirteen were for foreign trade; these exported about one thousand eight hundred barrels of tar, one thousand five hundred barrels of pitch, from three to four hundred dozens of planks, two thousand pounds of butter, two hundred and seventy-three hundred weight of tallow, nine hundred barrels of corn, &c. The inland customs for the year 1781 produced about two thousand one hundred and twenty-five, and those of the maritime department two thousand and twenty-seven rix dollars.

The inhabitants of Gamla Carleby plant tobacco, and prepare it for use; they are engaged in other branches of industry; they
raise

raise potatoes, rye, and barley, and have about three hundred acres of arable land in cultivation. Not far from the town is a printed cotton manufactory; also a house for boiling pitch, a store-house for tar, a saw-mill near the mouth of the river Kulajoki, &c. The magistracy consists of a burgomaster and six council-men. About a mile from Carleby are some springs of mineral water.

From Gamla Carleby we continued our journey on the ice, and experienced a new sensation peculiar to this mode of travelling. We have before observed, that the frost is here so intense, as to arrest the sea in its waving motion. The sun becoming more powerful with the advancement of the season, melted considerably the ice on the surface. The water thus produced during the day, collected in the cavities or furrows, and formed little pools or rivulets, which we were under the necessity of traversing in our sledges; and as they were always a considerable depth in the middle, we saw ourselves descending we knew not where, and actually thought we should sink to the bottom of the ocean. The intrepidity, or rather indifference, with which the Finlander made his way through those pools, encouraged us a little; but the recollection that we were upon the sea, and a consciousness that the water was entering our sledge, excited at first frightful apprehensions, and a continued disagreeable feeling.

In nights of severe and intense cold, such as frequently occur at that time of the year, a crust of ice is formed over those pools, inasmuch, that the water becomes inclosed between two plates of ice: in this case the sledge, as it passes over the upper crust, which

is generally of but a brittle texture, breaks it, and suddenly falls into the water, which bubbles up all about the sledge, nor does it stop till it gets to the second layer of ice. This unexpected fall produces a horrible sensation; and though there are rarely more than two feet of distance from one stratum of ice to the other, yet the sight of the water, the plunging of the horse, &c. are exceedingly alarming.

In our travels on the ice we fell in with fishermen who use the hook and bait: they sometimes stopped, and amused us by shewing us the fish they had caught. Their figure was a great curiosity to us: they scour over the ice in long wooden pattens, and shove themselves along with a pole they hold in their hand. The velocity of their progress is almost incredible; and the wonderful celerity of motion in their bodies, without the smallest preceptible action in their legs (for they use only their arms),-forms a very striking sight to a person beholding them for the first time. When employed in fishing, they exhibit a very curious picture, on account of the contrast which is observable in all those objects. They carry along with them a small triangular sail, which, when they have occasion to remain long seated on the ice, they spread, in order to shelter them from the wind. Having perforated the ice with a kind of chisel, which makes a part of their apparatus, they plunge the hook into the sea to the depth of about thirty feet: if the cold happens to be somewhat severe, they are obliged to be continually stirring the water at the orifice of the hole to prevent its freezing. We witnessed several lucky dips of the fishermen's
hooks,

hooks, and we did not leave them till we had caught some fish ourselves. Afterwards, wishing to try whether we could run on the ice with their pattens, we afforded no small diversion to those good people by our awkward manner of using them, as well as by several falls, which were more amusing to the spectators than agreeable to the performers.

You meet often in those parts with what may be termed disruptions of the ice, which form a strange picturesque appearance, sometimes resembling the ruins of an ancient castle. The cause of these disruptions is the rocks, which happen to be at the depth of some feet under the surface of the water. During the prevalence of the intense cold, the water freezes frequently three feet or more in thickness; the elevation of the sea is consequently diminished, and sinks in proportion to the diameter of the ice that is formed: then those shelves and rocks overtop the surface, and break the cohesion of the ice, while accident deposits the detached masses and fragments in a thousand irregular forms. It is extremely dangerous to traverse the ice in those parts during night, unless you have the compass constantly in your hand, and even with it you are not always safe. The traveller is frequently interrupted by those obstacles; he often loses sight of the coast, while the whiteness of the snow dazzles his eyes, and makes it extremely difficult to discern the traces of the sledges which have passed that way before: thus he is in no small danger of losing the road, and of going on in a different direction, which may lead

him far in the icy desert ; an accident which happened to us more than once.

I have made no mention of Brahestad, a small town we passed on the road, because I did not think it at the time of much consequence ; I shall however give some account of it here. This town is a stapelstad, and situated under the 64th degree 43 minutes of latitude, in the bailwick and parish of Salo, one hundred and thirty-five leagues and a half from Stockholm (by the common north road),* sixty-nine from Abo, eight and a half from Uleåborg, and thirty from Wasa. It stands on the gulf of Bothnia, at the top of a bay formed by two peninsulas : the town itself is upon the main land. It was founded by Count Peter Brahe, who considered this situation as particularly favourable for trade. The town became his property by purchase, and in December 1649 he provided it with a charter and certain privileges : in 1652 it was called after his name. Those privileges were confirmed to the town in 1651, 1652, 1680 ; and the last and most important, by which it acquired the right of stapelstad, to carry on foreign trade, is dated the 7th April 1701. For its armorial bearings it has part of the arms of the family of Brahe, viz. a horse, and a man with a lance and helmet. The harbour was once good and convenient ; but at present it is choaked up with mud, insomuch that only small vessels, or large ones with half their cargo, are able to enter it. Ships drop anchor at the mouth of the harbour, a quarter of a mile from the market place.

* Which runs along the gulf of Bothnia to Torneå.

The trade of the town consists in pitch, tallow, butter, hides, furs, a small quantity of salmon, and other fish. The exports, for some years before 1792, taken at an average, amounted to fourteen thousand four hundred and forty-four barrels of tar, ten thousand hundred weight of butter, and one thousand five hundred and seventy-one hundred weight of tallow. Their traffic in butcher's meat was once considerable, as well as that of preserves of *rubus chumæmorus*, a berry peculiar to Sweden. They also export wood and planks for shipping, which are cut by a saw-mill on the river Pyhajoki. From abroad they import salt, of which the town takes care to have a constant supply of one thousand eight hundred tons. In the year 1794, the town had fourteen ships of one thousand and fifty-five tons burthen in all: of these, four, or perhaps six, are employed in foreign trade. They have a rope-work, and a cotton manufactory, sufficient for home consumption, and a good fishery.

The town possesses but a very small territory. In the year 1790 the number of the inhabitants was seven hundred and sixty-three; and of five hundred and forty who paid taxes, twenty-eight were merchants and thirty-two burgeses. The number of the houses in 1794 was one hundred and twenty-four, the families two hundred and twenty-five, persons paying taxes five hundred and seventy-two. The duties collected at the maritime custom-house for the year 1791, amounted to one thousand and twenty-five rix dollars thirty skillings. Close to the town there are a manufactory of pitch, and a storehouse for tar: there

is, besides, another manufactory of pitch at Pyhajoki. The inhabitants are provided with milk from the parishes of Pyhajoki and Kulajoki.

We arrived at Uleåborg on the seventh of April, where we found, close by the town-house, a tolerable inn, which is the only one in the place. At night, after we were gone to bed, we were surprised by an incident which appeared to us very extraordinary in a country of so high a latitude. I have long been in the dangerous habit, before falling asleep, to read a book for half an hour. That evening I happened to be reading Ariosto, when I thought I heard three taps on the window of our chamber, which was on the ground floor. I paid not the smallest attention to it the first nor even the second time. When it was repeated the third time, I began to suspect it had some meaning; but as I read Ariosto, I was disposed to doubt whether it was not an effect of my imagination, heated perhaps by that of the poet. The fourth time, however, I had scarce the shadow of a doubt that it was somebody who tapped at the window; but still, to guard against illusion, I awaked my companion, who slept in another bed in the same room; and after acquainting him with my impression, prayed him to listen, and observe whether he could not hear a noise at the window. We then heard the three taps repeated, accompanied with a voice, which uttered something indistinctly. I rose, put on my pelice, and taking up my pistols went out of the chamber to see what it might be. But how great was my surprise!....It was a fine girl who wanted a corner of a bed. I
immediately

immediately uncocked, and laid aside the pistols, for fear of doing mischief....What happened afterwards?....For the solution of such difficult problems, Ariosto generally refers to another canto; but for the solution of this, let the reader conjecture what might have happened to himself in similar circumstances.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Account of Uleåborg: Situation, Population, and Trade—Mineral Springs near Uleåborg—The Soil in the Neighbourhood of this Town, and its mineral Productions—The Climate and Seasons—Vegetation, and animal Creation.

ULEABORG is a stapelstad, situated in 65 degrees north latitude. It was founded by Charles IX. in 1605. It has two custom-houses, one for the land, and one for the sea; two squares, sixteen streets, and is divided into quarters. The population is about three thousand eight hundred souls. The articles of exportation are as follow :

Tar (exported annually)	tons	30,000
Pitch, ditto	—	3,000
Butter, ditto	—	30,000
Tallow, ditto	—	70,000
Salmon, ditto	—	2,000
Dried pike, ditto	—	4,000
A peculiar species of herrings, ditto	—	300
Planks, ditto	—	dozens 600

The goods that are imported from abroad are, wine, oil, and lemons, which altogether do not amount to much. The yearly importation

importation of salt amounts on an average to almost ten thousand tons : it is brought from the Mediterranean, and particularly from Spain.

Under the head of manufactures come two saw-mills, two corn-mills, three fulling-mills for stuffs of wool and linen cloth ; a tobacco manufactory, and three dying houses. The public revenue produces eight thousand six dollars per annum. Uleåborg sends four ships to the Mediterranean, which return laden with different articles, but principally salt. Besides these, there are other vessels employed in freightage.

In the islands at the mouth of the river are two or three docks for building ships, where about six vessels every year of different sizes are constructed. The port of Uleåborg is a very bad one : the shipping is obliged to remain in the road about two English miles from the town, and to load and unload by means of lighters. The road itself is every year more and more filled up with sand and gravel.

In the year 1600, Uleåborg was visited by Charles IX. ; in 1618 by Gustavus Adolphus ; in 1694, by Charles XI. ; and in 1752, by Adolphus Frederic. It was attacked by the Russians in 1498, 1517, 1589, and 1592. In 1714, and 1743, it was treated with particular severity by those invaders, and almost ruined.

There are at Uleåborg some mineral springs, and valetudinarians come hither for the purpose of drinking the waters. In the year 1799, there were among these but three or four foreigners, which, when contrasted with the multiplicity of those who resort to Spa, and other places on the continent, makes this place appear

very insignificant. The chemical properties of the Uleåborg waters are these:—A vessel of a hundred cubical inches, contains

Sal digestivum feu			
Alkali vegetabile	—	—	1.0
Alkali minerale	—	—	5.7
Calx vitriolata	—	—	0.8
Calx aërata	—	—	1.9
Ferrum	—	—	1.2
Terra silicca	—	—	1.7

To which must be added twelve cubic inches of carbonic acid, and ten of hepatic gas.

The river Uleå, on the banks of which the town is situated, rolls down with a great noise; and its navigation is attended with considerable danger. The trading vessels which go on this river to the sea, are conducted by pilots paid by government, and matriculated or registered. None of the Finnish peasants, unless thus registered, are permitted to engage in that navigation. This regulation was adopted to prevent the continuance of accidents which frequently happened in the river, by boats being upset and people drowned, who were going up and down. Such is the velocity with which ships perform their course down the river, that they generally run six English miles in the space of twenty minutes. The salmon fishery here is very considerable; and the salmon of Uleåborg fetch a higher price at Stockholm than those of any other place. Speaking of salmon, I shall be excused by my reader for relating a fact, not more singular than well authenticated:—

A gentle-

A gentleman of Uleåborg went thence by sea to Stockholm; on his return, the ship's steward, in cleaning the plate after dinner, let fall into the sea a silver spoon, which was swallowed by a salmon that chanced to pass by. The day after this salmon made his way up the river near Uleåborg, where it was caught by a fisherman. The fisher went to sell the spoon to a silversmith, who, on recognizing the cypher, immediately conveyed it to the gentleman's wife. The lady, who had not received any intelligence from her husband since his departure from Uleåborg, was struck with the belief that he had been shipwrecked; and this seemed the more probable, as his return had been delayed by contrary winds. The gentleman at last consoled his afflicted wife by his re-appearance, and amused her with the recital of the mode in which the silver spoon was lost.

With regard to the soil in the vicinity of Uleåborg, it differs in some particulars; but it is generally sandy. In the valleys, on the sides of rivulets, and on the banks of the river Uleå, there is to be found some mould; but in such small quantities as scarcely to be worthy of notice. If there be any to be discovered elsewhere, it has either been washed down from the adjacent hills, or has been ground on which country-houses formerly stood. Marl, the *creta argillacea fissili-friabilis*, Linn. is, as far as I know, not to be met with in this neighbourhood, nor chalk, nor lime-earth; but lime-stone has been found in the parishes of Kemi Muhos, Paldamo, and Fijao. In Padesjerfoi a copper-mine has been discovered, which is now wrought. The ore is *pyrites ferreo-cup-*

reus, Linn. In several places in the vicinity, especially in the parishes of Paldamo and Sotkamo, there is iron-earth, or ochre. The peasants, without any assistance from others, make for themselves as much good iron and steel as they have occasion for. From Sotkamo Mr. Julin * brought, and has in his possession, a strong blood-stone ore, with crystal; and this also is to be found at Kemi. On the sea-shores of Kemi, near Paldamo and Kalajoki, you meet with great quantities of black sand impregnated with iron. In some places about Kemi, Sotkamo, Kufamo, and Paldamo, you will light upon a species of slate, the *schistus ardesia*, Linn. arranged, I believe, by the late mineralogists under the genus of *ardesia regularis*. It is not, however, good for roofing. The most common sort consists of sand consolidated by clay, or a mixture of clay and quartz.

Besides the grey and red granite, the most common stone here, you will find a reddish and clear quartz pebble stone, flint stone, felspar, and rock crystal, being the *nitrum quartzosum aqueum*, Linn. Black shorl, (*schoerlum* † *nigrum*) is to be seen in a few places near Sotkamo and Reövanjemi; in the neighbourhood of the town, below the quicksands, and on the margins of lakes. Clay prevails throughout the whole of the parishes of Kemi, Paldamo, and Sotkamo. You meet with *saxum micaceum fissile cinereum atomis interstinctis quartzosis micaceisque*, Linn. of various colours, but mostly of black-grey; as also the *talcum ollare*, Linn. In Pude-

* This gentleman will be again mentioned hereafter.

† See Retzic's Mineralogia, genus Schoerlum.

jervi and Sotkamo, at the village of Ristiarfoi, and in the parish of Paldamo, mill-stones may be obtained, which consist of a very good sand-stone. About a couple of miles to the northward of Uleåborg, is found on the highway the well known *Ropakivi*, which, according to Kirwan, is an aggregate of *felspar* and *mica*; its colour is brown, or brownish red; it moulders by exposure to the air; but that is only when the *mica* exceeds. Mr. Kirwan adds, when the *felspar* exceeds, it forms a durable stone, called in Italy *granitone*.*

There is no great chain of mountains nearer to Uleåborg than the land ridge to the north-east, and east south-east; the ground being for the most part low, and covered with coppices, bogs, and morasses; which give to the country around the town a dull and heavy appearance. The situation being damp, and not sufficiently sheltered, the effects of night frosts are always severely felt.

The land ridge is a vast chain of mountains running eastward, from the Haldefield in Torneå Lapmark to Peletowaddi in Kemi, forming a boundary between Sweden and Norway, and between the parishes Enara and Soetankyla; and after stretching farther to the south-east, it proceeds southward through Kemi to Wiisewana, by the church of Kuusamo, to Sarwitaissal, and hence extending to Kojuretapal, it constitutes the boundary between the parishes of Paldamo, Sotkamo, and Russia.

* See Kirwan's Elements of Mineralogy, vol. i. p. 345. By Linnæus it was first called *muria saxi ex mica spato que*, and thus characterised: *Constat saxo aggregato ex spato flavo et mica deliquescente sub dio versus meridiem*. And in the later editions it was termed, *saxum fatiscens*, and described in this manner: *spatosum micaceumque salsum fatiscens*.

Places lying under the same latitudes, or where the days and nights at the solstices are of the same length, are said in general to have the same climates. With regard to the geographical climate of Uleåborg, it corresponds with that of Kemi in Russia, of Gorodock and Kuovattkai in Siberia, of Cape Tschukotkoi Nos, towards the Frozen Sea, of St. James's in North America, of the southern cape of Greenland, of Skalholt in Iceland, and Drontheim in Norway.

By the physical climate is meant the difference of cold and heat, and the condition of the weather in different places at the same seasons. The principal and most general causes of the diversity of physical climate, are the longer or shorter continuance of the sun above the horizon, and the perpendicularity or obliquity of his rays; besides this, the state of the atmosphere, which surrounds the earth to the height of ten Swedish (or nearly seventy English) miles, and which accordingly, as it is more or less charged with vapours, intercepts and disperses more or less of the sunbeams in their descent to the earth. The climate is also modified by the situation of places on hills or plains, near the sea or on continents. The mild winters in England are owing to the warmth of the surrounding ocean, while Switzerland, lying six degrees farther to the south, experiences a much greater degree of cold, on account of its topographical situation.

The south and south south-west winds blowing towards Uleåborg, along the gulf of Bothnia, are for the most part warm after midsummer till autumn; but before midsummer, as long as the
gulf

gulf is frozen over, they are always cold. The extraordinary degree of cold that prevails at Uleåborg is in a great measure owing to the vast forests and deserts, which retain a great portion of ice even in summer. In proportion to the progress of agriculture, as water and wood are cleared away from the surface, which prevent the sun from warming the earth, it may be expected that the climate of this place will become more mild and gentle.

From a comparison of observations made at Stockholm and Uleåborg, it appears that the heat of the thermometer of Celsius, at a mean height at Stockholm throughout the whole year, is nearly 6° above 0, whereas at Uleåborg it generally stands at 1° 2-10ths below the freezing point; of course the climate of Uleåborg differs by 7° 2-10ths. During a space of twenty years the mercury at Stockholm fell seven hundred and nine times to 15 degrees, and once as far as 40 degrees below the freezing point.

At Uleåborg there are two months more of winter than at Stockholm, and one third less of spring. The autumn is of nearly the same duration in both places. As to the comparative length of the autumn, this depends not only on the lingering course of the sun in the autumnal solstice, but more on the south and south-west winds which prevail in the months of August, September, October, and part of November. Those winds which come from the gulf of Bothnia are warmed by the water, which preserves a greater degree of heat than the atmosphere. But on the contrary, in the winter season, when the sea is frozen, the winds which blow from the same quarter, are cold and disagreeable,

able, as are those also of the west and north-west. The east and north-east winds are in general warm in spring, because those winds, after crossing the White Sea, traverse more than thirty Swedish miles of land, covered with woods and morasses, warmed by the influence of the sun and of vegetation. But in the autumn the same winds, after the marshes are frozen, are very cold.

The frosts of the night during the summer come on towards the end of August, and sometimes even in July, as the frost in 1795, which was very severe on the 25th of July, and spoiled all the legumens and the more delicate culinary vegetables.

Notwithstanding the coldness of the climate the animals thrive very well, and vegetation is more rapid here than in any other place. There are instances of grain having been sown and reaped in the space of six weeks. The principal cause of this phenomenon is the fine nights, or rather the continual presence of the sun.

Mr. Julin, whose name I shall have occasion to mention in the following pages, communicated to me some interesting observations on the climate of Uleåborg, which I think will not be deemed unworthy of a place at the end of this chapter.

*Some general Signs of Spring and Summer at Uleåborg, according to
twenty-four years' Observation, by J. Julin.*

About

- MARCH 5. - - The melting ice and snow begin to trickle from the roofs of the houses.
- APRIL 1. - - The snow-bunting (*emberiza nivalis*, Lin.) appears.
- APRIL 25. - - The wild geese and the birds of the lakes arrive.
The papilio urticae (Lin.) makes its appearance.
The lark (*alandia urvensis*, Lin.) sings.
The fields are bare, i. e. free from snow.
- MAY 5. - - - The white wagtail (*motacilla alba*, Lin.) shews itself.
The wheat ear, or white tail (*motacilla oenanthe*, Lin.)
- MAY 15—20. - The rivers open, and the ice melted. .
A beginning may be made of planting in the kitchen gardens.
- MAY 25. - - The martin (*hirundo urbica*, Lin.) comes.
The cuckow (*cuculus canorus*, Lin.) calls.
The spring corn is out.
- MAY 30. - - Marsh marigold (*caltha palustris*, Lin.) flowers.
Trees, for instance the birch, (*betula alba*) put forth their leaves.
- JUNE 12. - - Summer's warmth, of 12 degrees above 0.
- AUGUST 10. - Night frosts begin.
- AUGUST 20. - Harvest begins. Winter rye (*secalum*) is sown.
- SEPTEMBER 25. The birch (*betula alba*) sheds its leaves.
- NOVEMBER 20. The ice bears; the ground is covered with snow.

GENERAL REMARKS.

1. The WINTER begins in October, and lasts full seven months, or till the end of April. The SPRING is short, and is over with the month of May. The SUMMER commences in June, and continues three months. AUTUMN takes its beginning with September, and only extends to the end of that month.

2. The greatest cold in winter is in January, and the greatest heat in summer commonly towards the end of July.

3. The MIDDLE TEMPERATURE for the whole year, if we except the periods when the seasons exert their particular influence, is about the freezing point of the thermometer, or, in other words, constant winter.

4. The night frosts are sometimes pretty sharp, especially from about the 10th to the 20th of August. July 25th, 1785, several things in the kitchen gardens were bit by the frost, for example the potatoes (*solanum tuberosum*) and the beans (*phascolus*).

5. However short the summer may be in this part of the world, the grass and corn nevertheless grow sufficiently ripe. There have been instances that the corn was sown and brought in quite ripe in the space of forty-two days.

*Extract from a Meteorological Journal kept at Uleåborg, under
65° 1' 30" North Latitude; by J. Julin.*

DEGREES OF CELSIUS'S THERMOMETER.

Years.	Greatest Heat. †	Greatest Cold. —	Middle Heat. †	Middle Cold. —	Middle Temperat.	
1776	† 21°	— 29°	† 7°	— 12°	— 0° 9'	The middle height of the barometer, for the whole year, is 25 inches, and 29 decimal lines.
1777	22	27	7	12	2 2	
1778	22	22	6	13	2 5	
1779	21	27	7	12	0 9	
1780	20	29	6	15	3 4	The middle height of the water descending from the atmosphere amounts to 13½ inches in the year; which is upon an average thus calculated for the four seasons, viz. For Winter 6 deg. 0 min. Spring 2 0 Summer 5 1 Autumn 0 5
1781	20	40	6	15	3 0	
1782	23	37	9	10	0 1	
1783	20	31	7	15	2 5	
1784	17	30	6	12	1 9	The middle temperature of the four seasons is, according to a mean proportion of twelve years, as follows : Winter 10 deg. cold — Spring 6 deg. warm † Summer 15 deg. warm † Autum 6 deg. warm †
1785	25	30	9	11	† 0 5	
1786	27	32	11	11	† 1 0	
1787	25	31	21	10	† 1 9	
1788	29	34	12	20	† 0 9	N. B. The sign (†) signifies warmth, or that the thermometer is above the freezing point. The sign (—) denotes cold, or that the thermometer is below 0.
1789	30	34	16	20	† 1 8	
1790	26	28	11	16	† 2 7	
1791	24	21	11	14	† 3 1	
1792	28	33	13	19	† 1 7	
1793	27	32	13	16	† 2 1	
1794	28	24	13	16	† 4 0	
1795	28	34				
1796	30	31				
1797	27	21				
1798	31	31				
1799		40				
Medium	† 24° 8'	— 30° 6'	† 10° 0'	— 14° 0'	† 0° 2'	

CHAPTER XIX.

Stay at Uleåborg protracted longer than was intended; Reasons assigned for it—Interesting Individuals mentioned—Curious Experiments with Animal Magnetism: Reflections on the extraordinary Phenomena produced by it—Advantages attending a Residence in small Country Towns—Hospitality at Uleåborg—Spirit of Society at that Place—Singular Mode of shewing Regard and Friendship for a Stranger.

IT was our first intention to remain at Uleåborg only five days, and by availing ourselves, whilst the season permitted, of the use of the sledge, to push our travels with the utmost expedition as far northward as possible, so as to return in summer, that we might thus have surveyed the country in both seasons, and witnessed the interesting process and strange spectacle of an almost momentary transition from winter to summer. We might have beheld the whole surface of the ground covered with ice and snow; have travelled with the rein-deer and roving Laplander; and in the space of two weeks have observed the ice melt, the snow vanish, the Laplander retire into his mountains, leaves and flowers spring up, and the whole system of vegetation display itself in all its beauty. This picture, which we relished so highly

by anticipation, and which was so flattering to a lively imagination, yielded to the attractions of Uleåborg, which promised us pleasures and resources of a different description. The polite attention of Baron Silfverkielm, of Governor Carpalan, and the acquaintance we made of several other interesting characters, and the pleasing accident of finding here two gentlemen *amateurs* of music, who, with my companion and myself, could execute a *quartetto*, made us forget our plan, and convert our five days stay into that of a couple of months. It being near the middle of April, the season was too far advanced; the ice began to waste, and lose its strength, and the rivers became every day less safe. We should have run the risk of being detained in a desert country during the period of thaw, after which we must have allowed at least a week till the earth had recovered its solidity, and the marshy grounds had become dry. The attractive scene of the change of seasons we might view at Uleåborg with nearly the same advantage; and as to the phenomena of winter, we had already seen so much of them on our journey from Stockholm, that our curiosity was nearly gratified. In short, we found our situation at Uleåborg so agreeable, that we were at no loss to discover reasons for adapting our plan to our liking, or for justifying our conduct in our own eyes.

I found at Uleåborg that I might carry on a course of study introductory to the natural history of Lapland. An excellent opportunity for this pursuit was afforded by Mr. Julin, apothecary at Uleåborg, who, besides a good collection of objects in every

class

class of the natural history of Lapland and Finland, was possessed of considerable knowledge on this subject, and at the same time took great pleasure in communicating information to those who were desirous of becoming acquainted with this branch of science. He was well provided with books, had an electrical apparatus, and amused himself by making experiments in different departments of natural philosophy.

The Baron Silfverkielm was a very amiable man, who had passed a great part of his life near the person of King Gustavus, had travelled, and seen much of the world. He was an excellent mechanic, amused himself with chemistry, possessed an admirable English electrical machine, made experiments, and was fond of reading and the study of belles-lettres. He was a man of no ceremony, and (which will not be believed by every one) a most famous magnetiser, and one of the greatest proficient among the disciples of Mesmer. I have seen the Baron give proofs of his skill in animal magnetism, which, I confess, shook my incredulity a little, both in respect to the efficacy of his principles, and the existence of the magnetic fluid, or whatever else it may be called, which is supposed to operate upon individuals. The effects it produces cannot easily be attributed to ordinary causes, nor supported by reasons derived from the known laws of nature. Although he was unable to affect me with his magnetical powers, yet he wrought upon persons whose probity and good faith I am not at liberty in any degree to question. He repeated to me experiments he had made in different places, on different individuals, and

and in different circumstances; and I find myself satisfied as to the existence of some natural cause or principle which has hitherto remained unknown: it is wrapt up in obscurity, and is as yet inexplicable to the understanding. I am very far from attempting, after the Baron's example, to account for it; though I think that a solution of this problem may be reserved for a period of higher improvement in the knowledge of nature, the study of which has been so successfully pursued, and so rapidly advanced, in the course of the present century. I saw my fellow traveller, as incredulous as myself, fall into a profound sleep by the mere motion of the magnetiser's fingers; I heard him speak in his sleep, and reply to whatever questions I proposed to him; I saw him again awake by the simple motion of the magnetiser's fingers, while I was unable to rouse him from his somnolency, though I brought fire close to his hand, an experiment to which he was as insensible as a dead body. He awoke, after sleeping from five to six hours, remembering nothing of what he had said, denying obstinately that he had been asleep, and yielding with difficulty at last to the authority of his watch, and the testimony of all those who had witnessed the circumstance. I might mention a number of facts relative to this subject, by which I should be able to prove, that in these trials there could be neither connivance nor imposture, nor previous arrangement; but this doctrine still lies too much under suspicion for me to dwell any longer upon it. I shall only add, that two English travellers, better informed, and, if possible, greater infidels than myself respecting mesmerism, happening

happening to pass by Uleåborg at the same time, stopped a day, that they might observe some of the magnetical performances. From previous concert one of them was to assume the appearance of being affected; but at the moment when the magnetiser should seem confident that his art had taken effect, he who was to feign himself asleep, at a sign given him by the other, was to awake in surprize, and thus disappoint the credulity of the operator and his audience. The experiments accordingly began: one of them was unsusceptible of the magnetic impression, the other was actually affected, and his companion might make what signs he pleased; he was deaf, incapable of understanding any thing, and in such a languid and lethargic state, that every act of volition was entirely suspended. The two gentlemen will probably give some account of their travels, and possibly confirm the truth of my relation of these almost incredible experiments.

It is to be regretted, that the mesmerians in general have their minds so heated by the extraordinary, I had almost said supernatural, aspect of those phenomena, that they suffer themselves to be so hurried away by the imagination, as to mount to the skies in order to find the physical cause of those effects among the clouds, instead of consulting and investigating nature in the practice of frequent experiments, and with that sobriety of mind which ought to be the faithful guide of philosophy in all her enquiries into the causes of things. The imagination, fascinated and enslaved by the charm of something preternatural, tries, while bewildered with confused conceptions, to divine the meaning, the

the purpose, and the end of objects ; and while it rambles about in the obscure and boundless regions of conjecture, the true spirit of enquiry loses the thread of its observations and of its analysis, and bounding from one imperfect impression to another, is incapable of stopping to observe, compare and judge : this was the infirmity of the good Baron. He fancied to himself, that the soul of the person asleep was transported to regions of which the human mind, in conjunction with the body, can form no idea. He went into particulars still more ridiculous, and asserted, for instance, that there all the souls were dressed in white, and that they enjoyed in that scene of delights such agreeable sensations as surpass all conception. He believed, that in that state of sleep they foresaw future events ; and that their souls being exalted to a higher sphere of perception, they could see many things that are invisible to the material organs of our imperfect vision. Instead of interrogating the sleeper as to the nature of his feelings during his torpor ; instead of trying to sound the condition of his physical faculties, or questioning him as to intelligible objects, his queries were always concerning the white robes, the paradise, and those elysian fields where, according to his theory, the souls are in the fruition of every species of pleasure, ever perfectly at ease, and clothed in their *robe de chambre*. He was desirous to receive intelligence from his ancestors, his great grandfather, or his late father ; and they very kindly, in general, sent him their compliments by the mouths of those couriers in white jackets.

From the manner in which I have stated my remarks, the
reader

reader will be able to judge of the light in which I viewed this subject. Having succeeded in our researches concerning the electrical fluid, and what is called *galvanism*, I think it not impossible but we may discover some other fluid, or material substance, which shall have its particular laws, relations and affinities. I am of opinion, that in animal magnetism we meet with appearances which cannot be traced to the imagination as their cause, nor indeed to any cause known or stated by the enemies of this doctrine. The French academicians themselves, in their report on animal magnetism, shew, perhaps, that they bestowed upon it neither the time nor the candour and impartiality which a subject so difficult, and so much entangled in the grossest prejudices, had a right to obtain from them. Upon the whole, I conclude that we are still entirely in the dark as to this unknown cause, which, though we cannot as yet assign to it any name or determinate qualification, is not on that account less possible.

The proficiency of the Baron in the magnetical science has not met with very great success in making profelytes at Uleåborg: for though this country is removed from the centre of intellectual improvement, yet the diffusion of knowledge has been so universal, in the course of the eighteenth century, that its salutary effects have been felt even here, and men's minds are sufficiently enlightened to be upon their guard against the illusions of imposture. Besides, the Baron is alone; he is destitute of that co-operation which, by working, on the sentiments of others, in all times and places, by continually urging and pressing upon them a subject

which they at first are unwilling to believe, renders it familiar to their thoughts, and in the end commands the belief of the credulous. The whole aggregate of society is made up of wise men and fools. The wise men proudly reject a doctrine which cannot furnish reasons for pretended facts; a doctrine, the reality of which can be referred to no known cause, and sensible to what a pitch of refinement imposture may be carried, they are prone to doubt every thing, and are for ever afraid of being duped. The half-wise are in many cases more sceptical than even the wise; "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing:" they will never talk or reason on their belief: it is a maxim with them to believe as little as possible, and thus they set aside from levity what the former disapproved from depth of understanding. The fools, however, are actually the most dangerous to all founders of new doctrines, such as we have had under our consideration: they fondly embrace whatever addresses itself more to the imagination than to the powers of reason; they have a greater relish for what is supernatural than for what is philosophical: but should they take it into their heads to ascribe the phenomena that result from the experiments before them, to the agency of the *devil*, the naturalist, whether he be a magnetiser or philosopher, will be judged worthy of damnation, and pass all the rest of his life for a magician. It is probable the Baron Silfverkielm was not displeased at the arrival of a number of strangers, who furnished him with a pretext for reviving his doctrines, as well as for repeating his experiments on different inhabitants, who, but to oblige us, would not have submitted to his discipline.

In provincial towns there are a number of circumstances in the traveller's favour, which afford him ample compensation for the privation he suffers in respect of those amusements so common in the capital. Hospitality exists there in a much greater degree; the stranger is treated as a person of the first distinction; every body is desirous of shewing attention to him, partly from vanity, no doubt, and partly to fill their own time by an agreeable variety. The cheapness of provisions doubles the traveller's pecuniary resources, inasmuch, that he is in a condition, to play the first part with the same means that would be necessary to his acting the last in a great metropolis: in short, every thing is at his disposal, every thing bends before him; and his partiality for himself, as well as his natural sentiments, will influence him to prefer an easy and peaceful life, in the bosom of a small circle, to the noisy pleasures and dissipation of large societies.

The taste for social entertainment at Uleåborg is not very general. The merchants are a distinct class of themselves, whom you never meet in other company: these are the most unfavourable to friendly intercourse, and also the least informed. The persons who compose the usual society of the place, are such as are in the employment of government, from the governor down to the judges of the tribunal. The governors of provinces, in Sweden, are instructed to invite and entertain at their houses all strangers of any distinction. General Carpelan not only obeys his instructions, but adds to the offices of politeness and hospitality the most flattering marks of personal friendship, inasmuch, that

he offered to accommodate us with lodgings at his own house. We chose, however, to remain at the house of a merchant named Feldman, who did every thing in his power, to oblige us, and under whose roof we found all that could contribute to render our residence agreeable.

The manners of the Uleåborg society have a great resemblance to those of the capital. The people have the same inclination to play, and are fond of pompous entertainments, and of formality. As the stranger is always the principal person in company, they are at pains to consult his taste, and do every thing they fancy will be most agreeable to him. The young ladies are exceedingly pleased to be introduced to strangers, and study to profit as much as they can, in a becoming manner, by their visits among them. When you have been invited to sup at a gentleman's house, it is a custom (which I cannot say is extremely gracious), as soon as the entertainment is over, for all the ladies, young and old, who wish to testify the pleasure they have enjoyed in your company, to give you a slap with the hand upon your back when you least expect it; and it is established as a rule, that the more forcibly the hand is applied, the more emphatic is the lady's declaration in your favour.

CHAPTER XX.

Stay at Uleåborg continued—Cheapness of Living—Prejudices about some Articles of Eating—Bright Nights—Sport of Shooting—Chase of the Tetrao Urogallus—Musical Party, and Concerts performed by the Author and some fellow Travellers—Impression made by the Power of Music upon the Sensibility of those that heard it—Turn of the Finlanders for Music and Poetry—The Runa, an Ancient Piece of Music in that Country—The Harpu, a musical Instrument—State of Music in Finland.

OUR residence at Uleåborg will ever be pleasing to our recollection. Removed from the world, far from the listlessness of dissipation, out of the reach of ceremonious visits, our time was devoted to study, to the chase, or to the practice of music. Our hostess was labouring from morning to night to supply us with a plentiful table, and to make our situation comfortable in every other respect. She killed calves, pigs and oxen, expressly on our account. The most precious spoils of the sea and rivers were procured for us, and purchased without regard to oeconomy; and the reader will probably learn with some astonishment, that for this rich and luxurious diet we paid for ourselves (two persons) and a servant,

servant, lodging, breakfast, dinner, tea, coffee, and supper included, not quite two guineas a week.

Our servant cooked our victuals in the Italian fashion, and the people of the house were not a little surprised at our manner of dining. Our good hostess was quite uneasy to see us dine every day on *soupe & bouillie*, and it was not in our power to persuade her that we did it from choice, and not because she had not a greater variety of good things to set before us. She endeavoured to vary our meals with different soups every day; one day with a milk soup, another with a soup of sago and raisins, another with a soup of wine and milk, another with a soup of barley or rice without meat. A difficult and important dispute arose between her and our servant on the following subject: she would by no means suffer the brains and liver of a calf or pig to be dressed; every creature in the house was shocked at the very idea of it. They are always used to give the liver and brains of all animals whatever to the hogs, or throw them on the dunghill. We passed unavoidably for cannibals, or anthropophagi; and such is the force of prejudice, that having pressed a person to taste the brains or liver, he would not swallow it, but spit it out after he had tasted it. Our attempts to convince them of their error, and to shew them the rationality of our custom, proved utterly fruitless. They were likewise scandalized at our eating small birds, such as larks, snipes, thrushes, upon all of which we set a great value. In those northern regions these birds enjoy a state of unmolested peace and security: they not only were to us delicious fare, but afforded

us the most agreeable sport in shooting them: it is a diversion, however, but of short duration, lasting only from the middle of May to the middle of June.

This is a period when a most surprising change takes place in this country. All nature seems to awake almost at once. That solitude, that silence, that lethargy of creation, gives place to universal and unceasing motion. The birds seem to arrive from all quarters of the earth, and people the woods, the fields, the fens and marshes, which re-echo their melody all around. The nights, equally fine and clear as the day, enabled us to prolong the pleasures of the chase. We used to dine, have our party at music, sup, and at ten o'clock in the evening set out, and continue our sports in the fields till about two o'clock in the morning. The light of the night was even more friendly to our pursuit than that of the day. The solar rays did not make the same strong impression on our eyes, and still we had light enough for the purpose of shooting. The birds in the course of the night were much more quiet, the wild ducks flocked from the sea on their way to the lakes and rivers, and sometimes passed directly over our heads. The rivers and lakes, as well as the marshy ground in their vicinity, swarmed with ducks and snipes of all descriptions. Our pleasure as sportsmen was not greater than what we enjoyed as naturalists, from the great variety of different species to which the inhabitants of Italy are total strangers.

The chase of the bird, which Linnæus calls *tetrao urogallus*, was perfectly new to me. This bird is of the size of a turkey,
and

and frequents woods of fir trees. Towards the beginning of June he sings in the night, perched on a branch, or the summit of a tree. He has such extreme sagacity and cunning, that it is almost impossible to get near him, except in the moment of his singing: then he has a convulsive motion in his head and eyes, which prevents his seeing or hearing any thing. His chant or song continues nearly a minute each time. The sportsman, during this short interval, moves on as fast as he can to come within sight of him, and the instant the bird has done singing he slips behind a tree, where he must not stir nor even so much as breathe, lest he should be perceived. In this manner he continues moving forward till he gets to a proper distance for firing at him. It is usual in this chase to fix upon some spot in the wood as a place of rendezvous for the party; and there a large fire is kindled, the smoke of which may be seen at a distance. Some person is always left to take care of the fire, lest it should extend too far, and his employment is to prevent its communicating with the neighbouring trees. Upon these occasions I had an opportunity of observing how easy it is to set a whole wood on fire. In the woods there is a species of dry moss, which is a most dangerous conductor; and if the people are not extremely careful in clearing it away all round the fire, it will spread a conflagration to the distance of a mile in a very short time. The sportsmen, who frequently make fires in the woods for some particular purpose, must be reckoned among the causes of those great conflagrations in Sweden and Finland, which we mentioned in a former part of this work.

This



Fischer auf der Kienwell.

Fishermen spearing Salmon.

This species of sport had not the same attraction for me as the shooting of other birds; we were obliged to pass the whole night in the woods; to listen to the singing of the bird with the invidious ear of a spy, to skulk and suppress our very breath, in order the better to catch the sound of his voice; and when at last we heard him, it was necessary we should employ all the craft and artifice of a traitor, take advantage even of the sentiment of love in this poor creature, and all this for the base purpose of killing him by surprise. In the chase, as in every thing else, I love plain dealing; I love to make the birds fly before me, to pursue them, and to declare war before I fire upon them. One single bird killed upon the wing is worth ten assassinated on the branch of a tree.

What contributed still more to attach us to our residence at Uleåborg was, as I have before intimated, the accident of our meeting here two gentlemen lovers of music, one of whom played the violoncello, the other the *alto*. Thus, with the assistance of Mr. Skiöldebrand, my travelling companion, who played the violin, and myself who played the clarinet, we were in condition to perform a quartetto tolerably well. A quartetto at Uleåborg was a phenomenon no less out of the ordinary course of things, than the appearance of the most astonishing meteor. There were not ten persons in the town who had ever heard music in four parts; nor probably from its foundation to the day of our arrival, had a quartetto been ever executed within its bounds. The reader will easily conceive the pleasure we derived from the simplicity of those good people, who looked up to us as the gods of music,

as well as the satisfaction we enjoyed from a sympathy with their feelings.

Uleåborg, during the time of our stay, had a concert every evening, open to every one that chose to attend. Our audience increased in number to such a degree, that we were obliged to hire an apartment larger than any room in our house; and our quartetto was constantly honoured by a numerous circle of ladies, and almost all the gentlemen of the town. It is impossible for me to convey an adequate idea of the impression our music made upon our hearers. In order to make a trial of their sensibility, and the effect of music on their passions, we composed on purpose a few pieces of an easy harmony, the movement of whose modulations was natural and intelligible even to persons unaccustomed to the artificial refinements of music. We studied to alternate the movements of grand effect, passing from the highest *forte* to the lowest *piano*, and *vice versa*, by transitions of surprise. We presently saw the tears trickle from the eyes of our feeling audience. As we realized the fabulous times of Greece, our spectators presented a most interesting picture, worthy of the pencil of the most celebrated painter. The eyes of all our hearers were turned upon us; some seemed to follow with every feature of the face the movements of the melody: we could read in the physiognomy of the Finlanders the character of the music we had played; every look became serious at forced and strong modulations, while soft and melodious passages seemed to disperse the cloud, and their countenances resumed their tranquillity. It was curious to observe the

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the different effects produced by the music on persons of different constitutions. One, for example, remained during the whole of a *sonata* fixed and steadfast, his mouth open, his eyes staring, without moving his eye-lids, and apparently struck with a stupid astonishment: another, on the contrary, seemed to follow every step of the melody with his whole body, and appeared to suffer a sort of musical convulsion: but the moment we began to play their *runo* every eye was drowned in tears, and the emotion was general.

The *runo* is a piece of the most ancient melody of Finland, which is still retained by this people, and suited to their national instrument called the *harpu*, probably the original of our *harp*, or a copy of the ancient *cithara* of the Greeks.

The inhabitants of Finland have certainly a very sensitive turn both for music and poetry. Indeed it should seem that these two arts go together, but the Finlanders have not made the same progress in music as in poetry, on account of the imperfection of their national instrument, and the attachment and veneration with which they have preserved it.

The *harpu* consists of five strings; and here we may observe the first step in the origin of the arts. They had no idea of giving it more chords than there are fingers on the hand. The chords are *a, b, c, d, e*; and *c* being flat, the instrument becomes tuned in *a* minor, the favourite note of all the northern nations. The chords are of metal, and not, like those of the violin and guitar, susceptible of being modulated by the fingers of the left hand.

The whole compass of their music consists of five notes, and with these five notes they play, they dance, and recite their poetry or verses. It is easy to imagine the melancholy and monotonous effect of their music, as well as the impossibility of improving it, until they shall abandon this five-stringed instrument. But barbarous and half civilized nations are no less frugal of their mental than of their corporeal enjoyments: they can dispense with the refinements of music as easily as they are reconciled to simplicity and uniformity in their diet and mode of life.

The introduction of the violin has operated some change in the national music of that country. The extent of that instrument seems to have roused the genius of the Finlanders, and the music they play on the violin has acquired a character different from that which they perform on the *harpu*. I will present my reader with some specimens of national music in the Appendix, where they will have an opportunity of seeing the nature of that ancient melody called *runa*, which is certainly discriminated by a character not to be met with in any other species of music. It consists in two periods, or bars of five crotchets each, which make two periods of eight notes: and I have divided that melody into two parts, in order to accommodate myself to the peculiarity of their verse, each of which has eight syllables, and two of them complete the tune, as may be seen in the Appendix, No. I.

CHAPTER XXI.

Influence of the northern Climate upon the Manners and Habits of the People—Hardships of living in the North, when compared to the southern Countries—Occupations of the Finlanders in Winter—Their Methods of catching Fish—The Chase of the Bear—Mode of shooting the Squirrel—Dangers that attend the Chase of the Seal—An Instance mentioned of two Finlanders that were cast away upon the Ice while in this Pursuit.

A TRAVELLER who visits those countries during winter, is apt to imagine that men, animals, and plants, are all conigned to a profound sleep: nor is it easy for him to conceive whence the natives derive the means of their subsistence. Seas, rivers, lakes, are all frozen up, and seem to shut out the necessary resource of fishing; the birds fly from these inhospitable regions, and hence afford no sustenance; the earth on all sides covered with frost and snow, is here converted into an inexorable prison, confining all her fruits;—this universal nakedness naturally begets in the stranger an expectation of seeing everywhere poverty, want, and wretchedness: but one who has resided among these people will find, that they are neither less awake, nor less active, nor worse fed than the inhabitants of the South. The different seasons here,

as every where else, give occasion to different occupations analogous to the climate, and the nature of the country. It is necessary to have even more activity and industry in the northern districts than in the southerly ones, inasmuch as the means of maintenance are more limited, while the wants of the natives are more pressing. How many things are men in want of in the North, that are scarcely known in the South? In the North furl-gloves, caps, fur-boots, woollen cloths lined with furs, and snow shoes; these are not much known to the inhabitants of the south of Europe, but are here articles of the first necessity. If to the variety of things which are required to cover the body, we add a greater appetite for food, and desire for spirituous liquors; if we consider the increased difficulties that the women have to undergo in rearing their children, we shall be sensible how arduous a task, for instance, a peasant in the North has to perform in discharging the common duties of life. Compared to him, the very beggars of other countries live in ease and even luxury; nor can he be put upon a par, in point of comfort, with the famous lazaroni of Naples, who, though ragged or rather naked, easily obtain a living if they will but take a walk on the quay, or saunter along the harbour, with no farther trouble than that of turning first their faces and then their backs to the sun.

The inhabitants of the North, harassed by a much greater number of wants, must necessarily acquire a larger share of activity in order to supply them; and from this circumstance arise a thousand little diversities of character, which serve to distinguish them,

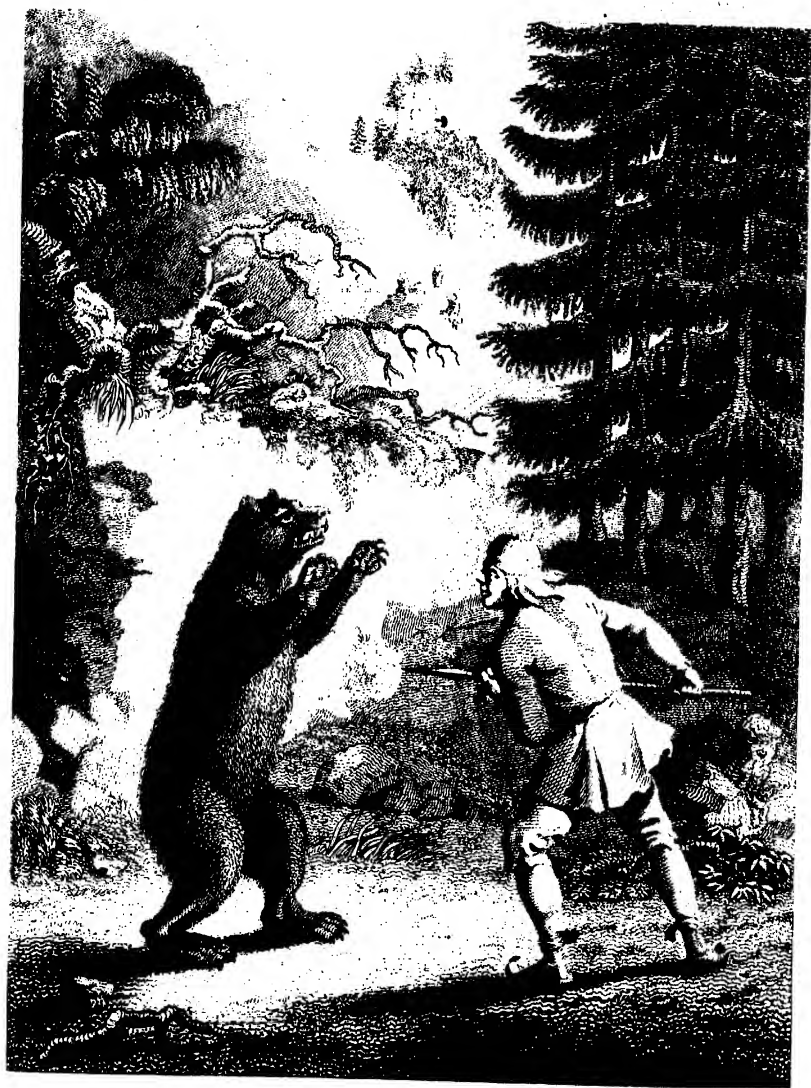
them, even in their moral habits, from the nations of the South. The peasants during the winter are occupied, not only in the laborious performance of such businesses as are most advantageously accomplished when the earth is covered with ice and snow, but also in preparing for their necessary avocations during the summer. They employ themselves in making nets, cutting wood, constructing cart wheels, and in tying up faggots for the fire. That of transporting things from one place to another, is one of the principal occupations of the Finnish peasantry in winter. They proceed to the forest and cut down timber for building, and making their sledges, as well as for fuel and other purposes: they drag over fields of ice and snow such enormous trunks of trees, as they could scarcely be able to move in summer.

Hunting and fishing are also avocations that are attended to in winter. Their mode of fishing is as follows: a couple of openings are made in the ice, and by means of ropes and long poles, they then contrive to pass their nets from one opening to the other: the drawing out of the nets is attended with infinite labour. They have another method of fishing on the ice, which seemed to me extremely curious, at least the novelty of it excited my surprise. It is in catching fish by a stroke of a mallet or club. In autumn, when the frost begins to set in, the fisherman courses along the rivers; and when he observes a fish under the ice in shallow water, he strikes a violent blow with his wooden mallet perpendicularly over the fish, so as to break the ice. The fish, stupified by the blow communicated to it by the water, in a few seconds

seconds rises quite giddy to the surface, where the man seizes it with an instrument made for the purpose.

I have, in the preceding part of this work, described the manner of hunting the seal; I have also mentioned the practice of catching fish when the water is frozen, by means of hooks. I shall now give some account of the mode of attacking the bear. This is a kind of sport which requires great presence of mind and intrepidity, and it must be acknowledged that the Finlander displays these virtues in an eminent degree.

It is but very lately that some few individuals have begun to use fire-arms in this chase; but there are still many among the peasantry, particularly in the inland part of the country, who will not expose their life to the uncertain shot of a musket, which is so liable to be prevented by damp; nor be possessed of an instrument which they think too costly, even when of a very ordinary quality. The favourite weapon of the Finlander in hunting the bear, is an iron lance fixed at the end of a pole. At about the distance of a foot from the point of the lance is fixed a cross-bar, which prevents the instrument from penetrating too far into the body of the bear, or passing through both sides. When the Finlander has discovered where the bear has taken up his winter quarters, he goes to the place and makes a noise at the entrance of his den, by which he endeavours to irritate and provoke him to quit his snug home. The bear however seems unwilling to come out; but continuing to be molested by the hunter, and perhaps by the barking of his dog, he at length gets up and rushes in fury from



A Hunter attacking a Bear

from his cavern. The moment he sees the peasant, he rears himself upon his two hind legs ready to tear him to pieces. The Finlander instantly puts himself in the attitude which is represented in the annexed plate; that is to say, he brings back the iron lance close to his breast, concealing from the bear the length of the pole, in order that he may not have time to be upon his guard, and consequently to parry with his paws the mortal blow which the hunter means to aim at his vitals. The Finlander then advances boldly towards the bear, nor does he strike the blow till they are so near each other, that the animal stretches out his paws to tear his antagonist limb from limb. At that instant the peasant pierces his heart with the lance, which, but for the cross-bar, would come out at his shoulder; nor could he otherwise prevent the bear from falling upon him, an accident which might be highly dangerous. By means of the cross-bar the animal is kept upright, and ultimately thrown upon his back; but what may seem to some very extraordinary, is, the bear, feeling himself wounded, instead of attempting with his paws to pull out the lance, holds it fast, and presses it more deeply into the wound. When the bear, after rolling upon the snow, ceases from the last struggles of death, the Finlander lays hold of him, and calls for the assistance of his friends, who drag the carcase to his hut; and this triumph terminates in a sort of festival, where the poet assists, and sings the exploits of the hunter.

The Finlanders are employed in summer in cutting down their hay and corn; the last they thresh out in winter; they build their

boats, go a-fishing, frequently a-fowling, and in the spring time hunt the squirrel, which they kill with a wooden arrow shot from a cross-bow, as is represented in the plate.

This figure of the bow is accurately copied from the original, which my friend Mr. Julin purchased, and brought with him when he returned from his excursion into the interior of the government of Uleåborg: it has a strong resemblance to those with which the Dalicarian mountaineers were armed before the time of Gustavus Vasa. It is extremely heavy, and requires great strength to bend it, even with the assistance of a thong which the Finlander carries about with him tied to his leather girdle. The ancient usages, still preserved in the country, are an incontestable proof of the simplicity of the natives, and of the little knowledge they have acquired of our modern inventions. These usages are, however, worthy objects of the traveller's attention, and are now the more interesting, because they are falling every day into oblivion, giving place to others of recent date.

In shooting the squirrel they employ, as has been intimated, a sort of blunt, pointless arrow, that they may kill the animal without injuring the skin: and what is deserving of being noticed, they do not take aim as we commonly do, by bringing the handle of the cross bow near the eye, but set it upon the belly; and yet by this method, which appears so awkward to us, they seldom or never miss hitting the object. The arrow is too valuable to be lost; for the moment it falls, it is picked up for another occasion.

But the species of hunting which sets the courage and enterprise
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of the Finlander in the very strongest light, is that of the seal, or *phoca vitulina* of Linnæus. The season of this chase begins when the sea breaks up, and the ice floats in shoals upon the surface. Four or five peasants will place themselves in an open boat, with one trifling mast, set off to sea, and be more than a month absent from their families. Thus they expose themselves to all the dangers of the high seas, have a small fire which they kindle on a sort of brick hearth, live upon the flesh of the seal, which is extremely good, and bring home the fat and the skins. The perils which those voyagers have to struggle with are incredible: they are every instant between masses of ice which threaten to crush their bark to atoms: they get upon the floating shoals, and, creeping along them, steal cautiously upon the seal, and kill him as he reposes on the ice. Seven years ago, two Finlanders only set out in a boat for this chase. Having got sight of some seals on a little floating island, they quitted their boat, and got upon the ice, moving on their hands and knees to get near them without being perceived. They had previously fastened their boat to the little island of ice they disembarked upon; but while they were busily engaged in their pursuit, a gust of wind tore away their boat, when, meeting with other shoals, it was broken in pieces, and in a few minutes entirely disappeared. The hunters were ~~aware~~ aware of their danger when it was too late: they were now left without help, without resource, without a ray of hope, on their little floating island. They remained two weeks on this frail fragment; the heat which diminished its bulk, and also its prominent sur-

face, rendered their situation more alarming every moment. In the anguish of hunger, they gnawed the flesh of their arms: they saw the gulf of death opening gradually under their feet; they embraced each other, determined to plunge together into the sea, and put an end to their misery, from which they had no prospect of escaping: they had hailed the day for the last time, when they discovered a sail. How great must have been their joy! One stripped off his shirt, and suspended it on the muzzle of their gun: the vessel was a whale-fisher which observed them; and putting out her boat, saved these two men from impending death.

CHAPTER XVI.

Some of the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of Finland described—Their Modes of Courtship—Ceremonies attending Marriage—The use of Vapour-Baths among the People at large, and especially among the Peasantry—Some Particulars of this Manner of bathing—The extraordinary Transition from Heat to Cold which the Finlanders can endure.

NOTHING could be more curious than to describe the odd and fantastic customs of the northern nations, and the gross indelicacies practised among them on certain occasions: but I shall confine my remarks to their marriages and their baths. The peasants of the province of Savolaxa, in Finland, have a very singular mode of making love. When a young man feels an attachment for a young woman, he commissions some aged dame to acquaint the object of his love with his passion, and at the same time he sends her some presents. The old woman chuses as the proper moment for executing her commission, that, when the girl is preparing to go to rest. While she is putting off her cloaths, the woman takes an opportunity of getting into her presence, and bestowing many praises upon the lover. When the girl has heard all she has to say, the dame slips some present, perhaps a handkerchief,

chief, or ribband, or some piece of money, into her bosom. If the girl does not wish to have any correspondence with her admirer, she gives back the presents to the mediatrix, who immediately conveys the unpleasing intelligence to her employer. It is to be observed, however, that this first refusal of the presents is not deemed a decisive proof of dislike. The lover does not yet despair of softening the heart of his mistress: by a repetition of his attempts he may still hope to accomplish his object. The positive mark of an invincible disapprobation and rejection, and after which there is no longer any further use in negotiation, or room for hope, is, when the young woman, instead of giving the box containing the present back to the ambassadresses with her hands, she unlooses the cincture that keeps her dress close to her waist, and lets it fall between her breast and her shift down to the ground. But if, on the contrary, she retains the present, then the young people consider themselves as engaged to each other, and nothing but the marriage ceremony is wanting in order to constitute them husband and wife.

On the wedding-day, some peasant among their neighbours, with the title of speaker, or orator, does the honours of the feast. This orator is generally a person who is not only endowed with a natural talent for speaking, but is also an *improvisatore*; for he is expected to make extempore verses suitable to the occasion, or any incidental circumstances: but the most curious and interesting ceremony of all, is that which takes place on the day after the marriage. All the guests being assembled, as on the day of the ceremony,

ceremony, the new married man is obliged to declare, whether or no he found his bride a virgin, If he answers in the affirmative, the orator, either in verse or prose, celebrates the happiness of the young couple on the preceding night, and drinks to their health out of a clean, well scoured, and bright cup. If in the negative, there is on the table a dirty and mean vessel, out of which he is obliged to drink. In the bottom of this utensil is a hole out of which the liquor runs, and is spilt on the ground at one end, whilst it is emptied by the orator at the other. He after this makes some remarks, and gives some counsels of no very pleasing nature, to the bride. When the orator has finished his harangue, in either of these cases, he takes up a pair of the bridegroom's breeches, which are at hand for the purpose, and thumps the bride with them lustily (but not on her head or the upper part of her body), saying, at the same time, "Be fruitful, woman, and don't fail of producing heirs to your husband!"

It is a general observation, and which admits of no exception, that in proportion as tribes or societies of men are rude and simple in their manners, they are indelicate on the subject of that passion which unites the sexes. That *pudor circa res venereas*, which Grotius held to be a universal sentiment, and characteristic of the human species, in Otaheite has no existence. There was a custom which prevailed not a century ago in some parts of Scotland, and which, according to tradition, was once general, almost as gross as that of the Finlanders. On the day after the wedding, when the marriage feast was continued, as in Finland, it was customary
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for the bridegroom, creeping on all fours, to receive on his back a large pannier full of stones, which he was obliged to carry until the bride, in token that she was no longer a maiden, came and relieved him of the heavy load, by throwing the pannier on the ground.

In one parish in Finland (one of these parishes, it is to be observed, is equal in extent to a whole province in most other countries) it is the custom for young women to wear, suspended at their girdles, the case or sheath of a knife, as a sign that they are unmarried, and would have no objection to a husband. When a young man becomes enamoured with any of those damsels, his manner of courting her is, to purchase, or cause to be made, a knife in the exact form of the sheath, and to take an opportunity of slipping it into the sheath slyly without the girl's perceiving it. If the girl, on finding the knife in the sheath, keep it, it is a favourable symptom: if not, it is a refusal.

In the parish of Kemi, before the day appointed or proposed for the marriage ceremony, the young people sleep together for a whole week, but without quite undressing; and this is called, *the week of the breeches*. It will, no doubt, be immediately recollected by my readers, that this is an exact counterpart to the *bundling* of the Anglo-Americans. If, in consequence of the familiarities that pass during the "week of the breeches," their love be strengthened, they marry; but if, on the other hand, their mutual affections be lessened, the marriage does not take place.

Another particular that appeared very singular among the cus-

toms



Finland - Bath

toms of the Fins, was their baths, and manner of bathing. Almost all the Finnish peasants have a small house built on purpose for a bath; it consists of only one small chamber, in the innermost part of which are placed a number of stones, which are heated by fire till they become red. On these stones, thus heated, water is thrown, until the company within be involved in a thick cloud of vapour. In this innermost part, the chamber is formed into two stories for the accommodation of a greater number of persons within that small compass; and it being the nature of heat and vapour to ascend, the second story is, of course, the hottest. Men and women use the bath promiscuously, without any concealment of dress, or being in the least influenced by any emotions of attachment. If, however, a stranger open the door, and come on the bathers by surprise, the women are not at all startled at his appearance; for, besides his person, he introduces along with him, by opening the door, a great quantity of light, which discovers at once to the view their situation, as well as forms. Without such an accident they remain, if not in total darkness, yet in great obscurity, as there is no other window besides a small hole, nor any light but what enters in from some chink in the roof of the house, or the crevices between the pieces of wood of which it is constructed. I often amused myself with surprising the bathers in this manner, and I once or twice tried to go in and join the assembly; but the heat was so excessive that I could not breathe, and in the space of a minute at most, I verily believe, must have been suffocated. I sometimes stepped in for

a moment, just to leave my thermometer in some proper place, and immediately went out again, where I would remain for a quarter of an hour, or ten minutes, and then enter again, and fetch the instrument to ascertain the degree of heat. My astonishment was so great that I could scarcely believe my senses, when I found that those people remain together, and amuse themselves for the space of half an hour, and sometimes a whole hour, in the same chamber, heated to the 70th or 75th degree of Celsius. The thermometer, in contact with those vapours, became sometimes so hot, that I could scarcely hold it in my hands.

The Finlanders, all the while they are in this hot bath, continue to rub themselves, and lash every part of their bodies with switches formed of twigs of the birch-tree. In ten minutes they become as red as raw flesh, and have altogether a very frightful appearance. In the winter season they frequently go out of the bath, naked as they are, to roll themselves in the snow, when the cold is at 20 and even 30 degrees below zero.* They will sometimes come out, still naked, and converse together, or with any one near them, in the open air. If travellers happen to pass by while the peasants of any hamlet, or little village, are in the bath, and their assistance is needed, they will leave the bath, and assist in yoking or unyoking, and fetching provender for the horses, or in any thing else, without any sort of covering whatever, while the passenger sits shivering with cold, though wrapped up in a good sound wolf's skin. There is nothing more wonder-

* I speak always of the thermometer of a hundred degrees, by Celsius.

ful than the extremities which man is capable of enduring through the power of habit.

The Finnish peasants pass thus instantaneously from an atmosphere of 70 degrees of heat, to one of 30 degrees of cold, a transition of a hundred degrees, which is the same thing as going out of boiling into freezing water ! and what is more astonishing, without the least inconvenience ; while other people are very sensibly affected by a variation of but five degrees, and in danger of being afflicted with rheumatism by the most trifling wind that blows. Those peasants assure you, that without the hot vapour baths they could not sustain as they do, during the whole day, their various labours. By the bath, they tell you, their strength is recruited as much as by rest and sleep. The heat of the vapour mollifies to such a degree their skin, that the men easily shave themselves with scratched razors, and without soap. Had Shakspeare known of a people who could thus have pleasure in such quick transition from excessive heat to the severest cold, his knowledge might have been increased, but his creative fancy could not have been assisted :—

Oh ! who can hold a fire in his hand,
By thinking of the frosty Caucasus ?
Or wallow naked in December snow,
By thinking on fantastic summer's heat ?

CHAPTER XXIII.

The national Poetry of Finland—Runic Verses—Turn of the Finlanders for Poetry—Manner in which they recite their poetical Compositions—Specimens of Finnish Poetry—A funeral Elegy on the Death of a Brother—An odd Tale, called the Paldamo-Pasty—The Females particularly addicted to the Amusement of Poetry—The Jauho Runot, or Mill Songs—A beautiful Ode, or Elegy, by a country Girl, on the Absence of her Lover—Lullaby of the Finnish Nurses—Songs intended for magical Purposes, and, among other Virtues, supposed also to possess that of healing Wounds, and curing Diseases—This Superstition prompts the Clergy to discourage the Runic Poetry in which it is clad—Probability arising from that Circumstance, and others, of the Runic Poetry falling quite into Disuse.

THE sun of literature cast a feeble ray upon the mountains of Finland, long after it had enlightened the rest of Europe: this ray has been, however, preserved in the single university of Abo.

It has been frequently observed, that letters can only be cultivated in times of peace, and that the tumult and confusion of war are inimical to the sciences, which demand the retirement of academic

demic bowers, far distant from the din of arms. Finland had been constantly exposed to the incursions of its neighbours. The Finns were themselves invaders in the beginning of the christian era, and were afterwards in their turn invaded by their neighbours, the Russians, the Swedes, and the Danes, who carried on a predatory war against them, laying all waste in their incursions. At length the Finns were at once converted and subjugated by the sword of Eric the ninth, king of Sweden, who having, in the year 1156, made them the servants of the christian religion, annexed their country to Sweden. From that time their situation became improved, and poetry, which even before that epoch had cheered "the dull abode of the shivering natives," extended its influence, and taking the lead of letters, was pursued by them with a diligence and success, which, every thing considered, is very remarkable.

The species of verse employed by them is called *runic*, from the ancient Gothic word *runoot*. It is composed of lines of eight trochees, or long and short syllables, which do not rhyme with correspondent endings, but are alliterative, or have like beginnings, that is to say, have two at least or more words which agree in a letter or syllable. To explain this kind of verse, we will give the reader a specimen from the only poem existing in the English language composed in this alliterative style, which is "The Vision of Pierce Plowman," a curious monument of ancient poetry, written in the fourteenth century, and printed for the second time in 1550. The poem begins thus,

"In

“ In a summer season when set was the sun,
 “ I chope me to shrubs, as I a sheep were,
 “ In an habit as an hermit unholy of works,
 “ Went wide in this world wonders to hear, &c.

Thus in the following poem in the Finnish tongue:

Nuco nuco pico linto
 Wessi wessi wester eki.

In the English lines the alliteration of the two first are of the letter S, of the third H, of the fourth W; and in the Finnish the letter N in the first, and W in the second. Verses composed in rhyme were of later introduction; and when they fall in naturally with the runic, are not rejected; but still they are not essential to the latter, and are therefore not sought after. The repetition of the initial letters is very pleasant to ears which are accustomed to it, and it is moreover perfectly agreeable to the genius of the Finnish language, and of great assistance to the memory.

Runic poetry has been from the most ancient times cultivated by the peasants of Finland, particularly by those who inhabit Ostro-Bothnia, and the territory of Cajanaborg. On the sea-coasts in the neighbourhood of Sweden, there are few Finlanders who understand or recite them, and fewer who compose them. The peasants acquainted with this poetry prefer the oldest specimens; and many of this class, unassisted by letters, through the simple efforts of genius alone, aided by practice, are able to compose
 runic

runic verses upon a subject suited to their genius with a wonderful facility, after the manner of the Italian *improvvisanti*. To this I have heard some men of learning, who are skilled in the Finnish language, bear testimony.

There is scarcely any event, public or private, which does not find a poet amongst the Finnish peasants to celebrate it. They condole the death of friends, rejoice with them on marriages, rehearse tales, satires, &c. at their public meetings, in these runic verses, often *extempore*, and often studied for the occasion, rarely committed to writing, and more rarely to the press. As to poems reciting the deeds of gothic heroes, and illustrating the monuments remaining of the times when they lived, none are to be found after the most diligent researches; nor are there any runic verses known of an earlier date than the reformation of Martin Luther.

The manner in which they recite their verses in public is singular, and said to be derived from ancient practice. A circle is formed of the auditors, in the midst of which stand the improvisator, and his repetitory coadjutor. Every line which the improvisator sings or delivers, is repeated in the same tune by the coadjutor, who, taking up the last word, or the last but one, finishes the line with him, and then repeats it alone. This gives the improvisator time to prepare the succeeding line, which he sings, seconded in like manner by his coadjutor; and thus they both proceed, the coadjutor always taking up the last words of the improvisator's line, and then repeating it by himself until the poem

is ended. During intervals, they recruit their spirits with beer or brandy, and sometimes continue the improvisation to a late hour. Dancing not being very common amongst the Finnish peasantry, their amusement at fairs, or at their private meetings, consists in these kind of songs, or recitations, sometimes accompanied by the harp, if that instrument be at hand, when the harper supplies the place of the repetitor.

I shall now lay before my readers some specimens of these poems, in which there will be observed much redundancy of expression, the sense being continued through two or more verses, the phrase only varied, as in the eastern compositions. The Finnish tongue is peculiarly adapted to this kind of phraseology, as it is highly copious, and abounding with synonymous words.

The first specimen I shall produce is an extract from a poem, or funeral elegy, composed by *Paulo Remes*, a Finnish peasant, upon the occasion of his brother's decease. This poem was printed at Abo in 1765.

“ The word went forth from Heaven ; from Him in whose hands are all things.

“ Come hither, I will make thee my friend ; approach, for
 “ thou shalt henceforth be my companion. Come down from
 “ the high hill ; leave the seat of sorrow behind thee ; enough
 “ hast thou suffered ; the tears thou hast shed are sufficient ; thou
 “ hast felt pain and disease ; the hour of thy deliverance is come ;
 “ thou art set free from evil days ; peace hasteneth to meet thee ;
 “ relief from grief to come.

Thus

“ Thus went he out to his Maker ; he entered into glory ; he hastened to extreme bliss ; he departed to enjoy liberty ; he quitted a life of sorrow ; he left the habitations of the earth.”

Proverbs are the result of experience and wisdom ; and no nations, however barbarous, are found without them in their language. The Finnish tongue has an abundance, many of them conveying strong sense and acute remark. They are for the most part in runic or alliterative verse ; and, like the Hebrew proverbs, are divided into two hemistichs, the latter illustrating the foregoing. The following are Finnish proverbs, literally translated :

“ The good man spareth from his peck ; but the wicked will not give from a bushel.”

“ The wise man knoweth what he shall do ; but fools try every thing.”

“ There is no deliverance through tears ; neither are evils remedied by sorrow.”

“ He who hath tried, goeth immediately to the work ; but he who hath no experience standeth to consider.”

“ The wise man gathereth wisdom every where ; he profiteth by the discourse of fools.”

“ A man's own land is his chiefest delight ; the wood is most pleasant that is his.”

“ The stranger is our brother ; he who comes from afar off is our kinsman.”

“ When the morn breaketh forth, I know the day which followeth ; a good man discovereth himself by his looks.”

“ The work is ended which is begun ; there is time lost to say,
“ what shall I do ?”

“ The tool of the industrious man is sharp ; but the plough-
“ share of the fool wanteth grinding.”

The following comical tale is a specimen of Finnish improvisation, by a young poet of the name of Vanönen, living between Wasa and Ulcåborg. For this piece I am indebted, as I mentioned before, to the governor of Wasa, who was personally acquainted with the poet, by whom, at the governor's desire, it was dictated to one who wrote it out. The governor set a great value on the original, and preserved it as a most precious relic. I therefore think myself much obliged by the communication. The poet, he told me, was poor, because he preferred the pleasures of imagination to the duties of a peasant and the labour of rural occupations. This young man, who can neither read nor write, has a native vein of humour, and is in his way very droll. He is of course heartily welcome in the houses of the peasants, whom he amuses with his mirth and pleasantry.

The *PALDAMO* consists of about two hundred and forty-eight lines. The subject is a ridiculous retaliation, by a trick played upon a custom-house officer, by a Finnish peasant. I have heard people intimately acquainted with the pure import and genius of the Finnish language, in reading this poem, break forth with enthusiasm in its praise, and burst into laughter almost at every line. The translation, though literal, and rendered word for word, retains but little of those beauties and that humour, which consist in the brevity, precision and energy of the original language.

THE PALDAMO-PASTY:

A Finnish Tale, by the Peasant Vonönnen.

" My tale is now set out in proper phrase. I sing the treat
" which an inhabitant of Paldamo prepared for a commissary of
" the customs; neither more nor less than a cat with the skin
" and fur, which was baked and presented to him for his supper.

" It was on a Sunday evening that the peasants of the good
" town of Paldamo were assembled together, and fell into dis-
" course about the inhabitants of the city of Uleåborg, whom
" they all pronounced to be a pack of knaves, and more especially
" the custom-house officers, for they were paid for eating, and
" scrupled to pay for what they eat, for they plundered the sledges
" and robbed the travellers of their provisions.

" Upon this (says a jolly old fellow of the party) I should like
" to take a little journey, if I could light upon agreeable compa-
" nions: I should wish once more to see our great city. I have
" some tallow to sell, and butter to dispose of, notwithstanding
" the season has proved so unfavourable." The peasants all an-
" swered with one voice, " We have all a desire to take a trip to
" Uleåborg; we will accompany you immediately into the low
" grounds."

" Thus then spoke another boon companion, famous for his
" droll stories: " To be sure, says he, at Christmas-time there is

“no work to be done, and I would go with you with all my
“heart; but I bethink me how I served one of these officers
“lately, and I am rather fearful that I shall be known. You
“must all understand that I went lately to Uleåborg, and had an
“excellent piece of roast veal in my sledge with me, which the
“officers took away, though I told them I could not spare it, as
“I was at a distance from home, and brought it with me to
“eat in town whilst I staid there. All I could say availed me
“nothing: those greedy fellows were resolved to have my roast
“veal, and so they took it from me. Oh! to be sure they are
“sad dogs, and plunder the peasants of their provisions at a shock-
“ing rate.

“When I returned home, continued he, I told my wife how
“I had been served, and I got heartily scolded by her for it. What
“a cowardly sot you are, cried she, why did you not break the
“officer’s head? Give him your roast veal truly! Give him the
“devil to stuff his maw with!—Thus did my wife exclaim; but
“what she said put a thought into my head! Ah! Ah! cried I,
“my gentlemen! it shall not be long before I am even with you!
“As I said these words I snatched up our great cat by her hind
“legs, and I presently dispatched her.—Now, says I, wife, put
“some fire into the oven, and I will get ready some paste, and
“pufts shall be baked in a pasty.—As I said this, my wife stopped
“me—truly she would have our cat’s skin to line her pellice with!
“Upon which I said to her rather angrily—What, you are for
“giving the rogues of officers a titbit, are you? If we strip off
“the

" the cat's skin, these gentry will take our pups for a fine Paldamo
 " hare, and grow more and more in love with our good things;
 " and thus the sledges of our poor townsmen will never escape
 " being plundered: no, no, says I, they shall have the cat, skin
 " and all, and then they will see that we can be a match for their
 " thievery.

" My wife was not very well pleased to give up the cat's skin,
 " but she was fain to comply, and so the cat was put into the
 " pasty with the skin on, and the pasty was put into the oven.

" When the pasty was baked, it was set by till morning, and
 " then clapped into a sack, and away I set off merrily for Uleå-
 " borg. Upon the road I lighted upon a peasant who was travel-
 " ling the same way. Says my new acquaintance, Can we cross
 " the river by the bridge? I cannot tell you, answered I. But
 " when we came to the river side, we found orders had been given
 " to stop the passage over the bridge; for, says the carpenter, who
 " was hard at work upon the barricade, None of you peasants of
 " Paldamo are to pass this way.—So we crossed the river over the
 " ice farther up, and when we came to the custom-house I pre-
 " sented the officer with a small pasty out of my sack. What
 " do you mean by this, says he; you do not surely intend to
 " make the first commissary of the customs so trifling a present
 " as this is! Come, come, I know you Paldamo peasants are never
 " without a good large pasty of jack, or some other excellent fish;
 " give me the largest you have, one that will do credit to your
 " town. This, you must suppose, was just what I wished to hear;

" so

“ so out I lugged the large pasty that had the cat baked in it, and
“ I gave it to the officer, who was so well pleased, that he invited
“ the other peasant and me to take a cup of coffee with him;
“ and so we did; and he gave us a glass of punch after it, and a
“ bumper of excellent brandy besides; after which we took our
“ leave, and went our ways.”

“ Thus ends the peasant’s tale which he told to his neighbours
“ of Paldamo, and which I, *Vanönen*, have put into verse for the
“ delight of all that shall hear it: and I suppose I shall get much
“ such a present for my composition as the first commissary of the
“ customs had for his civility—one of pufs’s hind legs; for the
“ officer eat the other, as you must next hear.

“ The commissary Ritz, for so this officer was named who had
“ received this noble present, was sat down to his supper, and the
“ Paldamo-pasty was placed before him. He first cut off a slice
“ of the crust, which he tasted, and found very relishing and
“ good: he next pulled out one of the cat’s hind legs. To be
“ sure he scratched his mouth with the claws; but that he
“ thought might be the pike’s teeth, for he supposed that the
“ pasty had a large jack in it, and the cat’s hind leg before him
“ was the jole of the jack. At length he opened the pasty, but
“ what was his astonishment when he beheld a pasty with a baked
“ cat in it, skin, fur and all!

“ He stamped, he raved, he swore—and at last he broke out
“ into these reflections—Who could have thought that a peasant
“ of Paldamo would have presented the first commissary of the
“ customs

“ customs with a cat baked in a pasty ! What a wretch is man !
 “ Who knows not, if he live to grow in years, what he may
 “ chance to eat before he dies, when I, a young man, was very
 “ near devouring a cat with her skin and fur on.

“ Thus endeth this tale, which I, the before-mentioned *Va-*
nönen, have composed, and which all allow to end well, and
 “ with great ingenuity.”*

* I will subjoin a version in English rhyme of the same poem, in which the literal meaning of the original has likewise been as faithfully retained as possible. It thus forms a droll sort of a ballad.

THE PALDAMO PASTY :

A Finnish Tale, by the Peasant Vanönen.

A story, I remember well,
 I once did hear, which now I'll tell ;
 For I, Vanönen, (you all know it,
 A peasant, and, what's more, a poet),
 Did verify it in a style,
 That all who hear say 'tis worth while :
 How that of customs the *Commis*
 Was trick'd (none better trick'd could be)
 With sav'ry pasty of a cat,
 That mouse had often kill'd, and rat.

'Twas at Paldamo that a set
 Of jovial peasants once were met ;
 When ent'ring into merry chat,
 Of neighb'ring towns, and this and that ;
 They all agreed, and did declare,
 Knaves of more cunning any where,
 In any town the country round,
 Than Uleaborg's cou'd not be found ;

And

The Finnish word *kalakucko*, here translated pasty, signifies a pyc with fish baked in it of some fort or other.

Uleåborg is situated in an extensive plain on the river Uleå,

And if of them one worse could be,
Commis of customs must be he.
 The burghers, they were fain to cheat,
 That they and families might eat ;
 But all those officers had pay,
 Yet peasants coming in their way,
 They of provisions did bereave,
 And scarcely said them—"By your leave."

Now, says a peasant, could I find,
 Like you, companions to my mind ;
 My sledge I wou'd this instant take,
 And to that town a journey make :
 I have some tallow yet to sell,
 And butter that will pay me well :
 The peasants all replied, "Agreed,
 "To Uleaborg let's now proceed."

Hold there, my friends (cried a shrewd knave),
 I must not go, for doubts I have ;
 I now bethink me of some pranks
 Which I play'd there, will get no thanks :
 For I must give you all to know,
 It is not many months ago,
 That I occasion had to be
 At Uleaborg, and took with me
 As fine a piece of roasted veal,
 As you would wish for at a meal.
 You know those dogs—a sly *Commis*
 Found it, and took it, sirs, from me :
 I begg'd, intreated, and I pray'd,
 Said all I could, but all I said,
 Avail'd me not a single jot,
 Have it he wou'd, wou'd I or not.

I pleaded

which empties itself near to it in the gulf of Bothnia. That river is alluded to in the foregoing tale.

Christmas is a season of leisure with the peasants of Finland, as

I pleaded I was far from home,
To Uleaborg on business come,
And that I brought with me this meat,
That I in town might of it eat;
Not paying merchants for my sleeping,
I wou'd not they shou'd pay my keeping.
Howe'er my veal he took, don't doubt it,
And I was fain to go without it.
When I came home my wife did scold!
Two days her tongue she wou'd not hold;
She call'd me fool and silly elf,
Said none was dup'd so as myself:
You are (at last she said) so hasty,
Give him your veal! give a cat-pasty!
Stop there, dear wife, and say no more,
You won't mend that, talk for an hour.

The words which she that moment said,
Had put a thought into my head,
A trick to play this said *Commis*,
And serve him worse than he serv'd me.

So puffs I took, and made her fit,
To put in paste, or fix on spit:
But wou'd you think, my simple wife
Seeing our cat depriv'd of life,
Begg'd that the skin I'd let her take,
Lining for her pellice to make.
What! I exclaim'd, in angry fit,
You are for giving a tit-bit;
Puffs without skin, shou'd I now bake,
The *Commis* for a hare will take;
And our Paldamo's good things more
Grow fond of than he was before:

their corn is by that time threshed, and the country covered with snow, every operation of husbandry is at a stand.

No inconsiderable number of runic songs, and those not of the

Our townsmen then will ne'er go free,
But plunder'd evermore will be :
No ; pufs I'll bake as nature sent her,
With skin, fur, all that nature lent her.
As I said this, our pufs in haste
I roll'd up neatly in a paste ;
The pasty bak'd, without delay,
To Uleaborg I took my way ;
I cross the river on the ice,
And reach'd the office in a trice,
And there I saw my good *Commis*,
And glad, be assur'd, I was to see.
Saluting, I my present make,
Taking from out my bag a cake :
What's this you've brought me here, cried he,
This is not surely meant for me ;
Here, take your cake, I pray now, back,
You've something better in that sack ;
You peasants of Paldamo never
Come hither without something clever ;
I know, at home, you're ne'er without
Fish-pasties, either jack or trout :
Come, search your bag, and set me down
One shall do credit to your town.

Thus spoke the *Commis* ; you may swear,
These words I was well pleas'd to hear ;
So out I lugg'd, without demur,
Pufs in the pasty, skin and fur.

Better receiv'd no gift could be ;
Aye, this is something like ! cried he ;
Now, my good peasant, for the sake
Of this, you must refreshment take.

Coffee

least merit in point of composition, are of the production of females of the class of Finnish peasantry.

Before the general use of wind and water-mills, corn was re-

Coffee I had ; punch too he gave ;
Brandy besides he made me have.
My congees made, to town I went,
And left the *Commis* well content.

Paldamo's peasant now has ended
His tale, by neighbour's well attended ;
You too attention pay to verses,
Peasant Vanonen here rehearces ;
What gets Vanonen for his pains ?
Gifts much like that the *Commis* gains ;
Pasty of cat, or some such matter :
But lest you think I idly chatter ;
And talk thus when my tale's not clos'd,
Because I am to end it pos'd ;
I now will hasten the conclusion,
And shew you Ritzi in confusion ;
Ritzi, I say, for so 'tis fam'd,
Our officer by all was nam'd.

The pasty you may think was not
At Ritzi's supper-time forgot ;
For being large, suppos'd of fish,
It made at table the chief dish.

The commissary tried the paste,
And found it relish'd to his taste ;
Within the crust he made a hole,
And brought out what he thought a jole ;
Jole of a jack, so he did guess,
'Twas the *hind-leg*, nor more nor less :
His mouth he scratch'd with puss's claws,
" This fish had sharp teeth in his jaws ;"
And saying this, a doubt arose,
Which to clear up, on search he goes :

duced to flour by the labour of the hands, either by pounding in mortars, or by grinding betwixt two stones. This was a daily task, and it fell to the woman's lot to perform it in Finland, as in other countries. During the long and dreary winters of that climate, they were engaged in this work at home, whilst their husbands abroad were either in pursuit of game, or employed in the necessary business of seeking wood, forage, &c.

To cheer their minds, and beguile their labour, such of the women as were unable to invent songs, studied the composition of new ones; whilst others who were not so happy as to possess that talent, sung those they had learned, whether new or old. In

The pasty now is open laid,
And all the rogue's trick is display'd;
But words I want now to express
His rage, his fury, and distress;
He stamp'd, he swore, with passion flutter'd,
But calmer grown, these words he utter'd:

How wretched man! expos'd to cheats!
At meals who knows not what he eats!
'This day it may be leg of cat,
To-morrow something worse than that;
Thro' life in all things thus he's cheated,
And most when best he thinks he's treated;
One truth he firmly may believe,
That death shall surely not deceive;
But howe'er sumptuously he eat,
For worms at last will make him meat.

Thus ends Vanönen's tale, which you
Have listen'd with attention to;
I trust you think it well bestow'd,
For all allow the moral good.

one of these a female peasant describes herself at work in these words:

Päiwa^t pyöriⁿ petkeleisä
Kiwen puussa kükuttelen.

Fix'd to this mill all day I stand,
And turn the stone with patient hand.

These songs, called *jauho runot*, or *mill-songs*, are for the most part sung to a slow plaintive air. If two women are employed at the mill, they are sung in parts by both of them; but when they relieve each other, she only sings who works. These songs are composed on a variety of subjects; sometimes grave and serious, at other times ludicrous and satirical; one while a love story, and not infrequently the praises of some heroic action.

Love, which is the great business of the sex, is, as may well be supposed, the topic upon which the energies of the Finnish poets are chiefly exercised; it is, however, not an easy matter to procure specimens of these songs, as they are generally sung by the young women at meetings, to which men are rarely or never admitted. Mr. Franzen of Abo presented me with a song, the composition of a country girl, a native of Ostro-Bothnia, and the servant of the magister or the clergyman of the village, where she had constantly resided. It is composed on the occasion of her lover's absence, in a style of natural simplicity, strong sentiment, and bold figure, to attain which, more cultivated understandings sometimes labour in vain. The thought in the second stanza, if not altogether

ther new to poetry, has something in it very striking, is prettily introduced and well turned. This little picce, considered as the production of a girl who could neither write nor read, is a wonderful performance. It is nature's poet delivering the dictates of her heart in the words which love has suggested, and "snatching a grace beyond the reach of art." This Finnish Sappho, amidst all the snows of her ungenial climate, discovers all the warmth of the poetess of Lesbos. I shall lay before the reader two translations of this song, the one in prose, the other in verse.

The following prose translation is as near the original as the English language can approach the Finnish—

I.

"Oh! that my beloved were now here; That his well-known figure were but before me! How should I fly into his arms, And kiss him though his face were besmeared with the blood of a wolf! How should I press his hand, Even though a snake were twisted round it!"

II.

"Alas! why have not the winds understanding? And why is the breeze bereft of speech? The winds might exchange sentiments betwixt my beloved and me. The breezes might every instant carry my words to him and bring back his to me."

III.

"How then would the delicacies of the rector's table be neglected! How inattentive should I be to the dress of his daughter!"

“ter ! I should leave every thing to attend upon my beloved,
 “who is the dear object of my summer-thoughts, and winter-
 “cares.”

This version in rhyme is neither so close as metaphrase, nor so distant as paraphrase.

I.

“Oh were my love but here with me !
 “Cou’d I his well-known person see !
 “How shou’d I fly to his embrace,
 “Tho’ blood of wolves distain’d his face ;
 “Pres’d to my heart, his hand wou’d take,
 “Tho’ ’twere encircled by a snake.

II.

“Those winds that whisper thro’ the wood,
 “Why is their speech not understood ?
 “They might exchange the lover’s pray’r,
 “And sigh for sigh returning bear.

III.

“Ill-cook’d the rector’s meals wou’d be,
 “Dressing his daughter wait for me ;
 “Whilst kitchen, toilet, I forsake,
 “And thought of my love only take ;
 “On that alone my care bestow,
 “My summer’s wish, my winter’s vow.”

The last specimen I shall produce of Finnish poetry, of female composition, is the following fragment of a song of considerable length, which the Finnish nurses are accustomed to sing to children in the cradle. It may be considered valuable, inasmuch as it marks the genius of the nation. The words were taken down whilst a nurse sung them and rocked her child to sleep. The person who wrote down the words was well acquainted with the Finnish tongue; but the woman knew no more than this part of the song, and no opportunity offered of obtaining the remainder. It is hoped no reader will be displeased at finding here such a specimen of genuine tenderness, simplicity, and piety, though in the form of a lullaby-song.

“ Sleep on, sleep on, sweet bird of the meadow; Take thy rest,
 “ little redbreast, take thy rest; God shall awake thee in his own
 “ good time; He has made thee a little bough to repose thee on;
 “ A bough canopied with the leaves of the birch-tree; Sleep stands
 “ at the door, and says; The son of sleep stands at the door, and
 “ says; Is there not a little child here; Lying asleep in the cradle;
 “ A little child wrapt up in swaddling cloths; A child reposing
 “ under a coverlet of wool.” —

The last species of poetry, of which we shall make mention, is that which is common both to the Finns and Laplanders; we mean those runic verses which are supposed to be endowed with magical and extraordinary virtues. These songs, which owe their
 rise

rise to the darkness of genti^lis^m, were not silenced when those nations became enlightened by the gospel ; they were even interpolated in the times of papal superstition for the purpose of deluding the people ; and these will probably be the last of the runic verses that will be forgotten, as notwithstanding all the industry of the clergy to root out such prejudices from the minds of the people, the Finns still privately favour and countenance these songs, being strongly of opinion, that they are possessed of secret virtues, and have a superior degree of efficacy when employed.

In point of composition they are considered by many as inestimable monuments of antiquity, and perfect models of genuine runic poetry. They are distinguished by their admirers from the common runic verses sung at public meetings, which by them are accounted profane. Some of a species named *lugut*, or lectures, are never sung, but delivered privately in a low murmuring voice, accompanied with horrid gesticulations.

The Finns have many runic verses which are supposed to contain healing powers, and those are styled *sanat*, or charms ; as *madan-sanat*, charms for the bite of a serpent ; *tulen-sanat*, charms to cure scalds or burns ; *raudan-sanat*, charms to heal wounds, &c. &c.

These charms, as has been already observed, are very numerous ; and though not much esteemed by the inhabitants of the seacoast, are in the highest repute amongst those who dwell in the interior and mountainous parts of the country. This is likely to continue to be the case, as long as the practice of physic re-

mainly in the hands of itinerant empirics and ignorant old women. They jointly with charms use some simple remedies, as salt, milk, brandy, lard, &c. but attribute the cures they perform to the superior efficacy of the verses they sing during the application; the chief theory and foundation of their practice consisting in a belief, with which too they impress their patients very strongly, that their complaints are occasioned by witchcraft, and can only be removed by means of those incantations.

Of these charms it is not easy to obtain specimens, as they who are versed in them are unwilling to communicate them to literate men, especially when they see them prepare to commit them to writing, as they fear to be reported to the magistrate or clergyman, and punished, or at least chided for their superstition. It is a pity the clergymen will not be at the pains of discriminating betwixt the verses, which are the production of superstition, and those of an innocent nature. So far are they from attending to this particular, that they do their utmost to discourage runic poetry in general, and without exception; which partly on that account, and more owing to the natural changes which a length of time brings about in all human affairs, are rapidly falling into disuse, and in a few years will be only found in the relations of travellers.

The intelligent reader will have remarked the perfect similarity between these songs of the Finlanders and those of the early Grecians: the same simplicity of composition, dictated by identity of occupation. Almost every profession among that gay, lively, and incomparable people, had its peculiar song. Specimens handed
down

down from the remotest antiquity might be adduced, of those sung by grinders of corn, by lovers, and by nurses, quite in conformity with the Finnish songs which precede. But it is unnecessary; for as the same causes are found invariably to produce the same effects, so must the manners of rude and uncultivated people be always the same. If there be any cause for admiration, it will arise in finding so little difference of manners and sentiments between the inhabitants of the coldest regions, and those living in temperate and the most genial climates.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Departure from Uleåborg—Difficulty of travelling to the North Cape, through Lapland in Summer—Plan adopted by the Author and his Friends—Preparations for the Journey: an Accession of two fellow Travellers—Affecting Farewell—Journey pursued—Description of a Finlandish Dance—Some Specimens of Music—Amusement at Hutta—Arrival at Kemi.

THE time was now approaching when we were to take leave of our friends, and prosecute our intended travels to the North Cape. This journey appeared to every body at Uleåborg chimerical, and a project that would be found impracticable on experiment. Every person of our acquaintance pictured Lapland to us in the most frightful colours: they assured us from authorities true, or supposed to be true, that in summer it was absolutely impossible to find a road, or to pass from one place to another. Our friends consoled themselves, in the prospect of our departure, with the idea, that we should soon ourselves be convinced of the impracticability of our plan, and being discouraged by the first obstacles we should meet with, they should soon have the pleasure of seeing us again on our return to Uleåborg.

In the course of our stay here we had studied to obtain information

mation respecting this journey from every person we could hear of who had visited Lapland ; we wrote to a merchant at Torneå ; we procured intelligence from some clerical missionaries, who had been in Lapland ; but there was not one individual who could give us the smallest advice, as to the manner or even the possibility of travelling in that country in summer. They all had been there in winter only, and had travelled in sledges drawn by reindeer : the missionaries, in like manner, reside there only in winter, and return for the summer to villages which have an open communication with some town. There was not an individual who could furnish us with a distinct idea, or any satisfactory information on the subject. All seemed, to a man, to be firmly of opinion that the journey was not to be accomplished. They knew perfectly well how we might get to Upper Torneå, to Kengis, to Kollare ; but no mortal could tell us how it was practicable to penetrate the length of Muonioniska. They were pretty accurately acquainted with the road that leads to the church of Jukaskervi, and a lake which forms the source of the river Torneå ; but we chose to avoid this route, which different travellers had gone before us, and which is already sufficiently known. We were resolved to follow the footsteps of no one, but to trace out a line of road for ourselves, or not to engage in it at all. It was our plan to keep as much as possible in a line of the meridian to Torneå, and proceed towards the North Cape in the straightest direction possible. In order to gain our object, it would be necessary to leave the river Torneå, to follow the course of the Muo-

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nio, at all events to reach Muonioniska; and from Muonioniska to direct our steps towards Kautokeino. Having arrived at Kautokeino, we should find ourselves on the borders of a river which falls into the Frozen Ocean; and we presumed, that having embarked on this stream we could glide down all the way to the gulf of Alten, with the same ease as the water of the river itself. That having got to Alten, we should certainly penetrate to the North Cape, either by water or on foot, and return by the same, or such other way as circumstances and our topographical information might recommend as the most convenient and sure.

The whole of this scheme of travel, which we meant to pursue, was regarded as a *castle in the air*, reared by an Italian, who had lightly taken it into his head that Lapland was just such another country as Italy; and who was wholly in the dark as to those difficulties which are met with in a district so far to the north. Our proposed enterprise had given occasion to much conversation in the neighbourhood of Uleåborg, and people shewed much curiosity to see us. Mr. Julin, a good naturalist, and possessed with a strong desire of acquiring farther knowledge and information, being tempted by our plan, and the confidence he reposed in us, and suffering himself to be persuaded by our importunities, consented to accompany us, and to divide with us our pleasures and pains. Mr. Castrein, minister of Kemi, a man extremely well informed, and a botanist, seemed also disposed to join the party; and thus our hopes of success in the undertaking were very considerably raised. We were proud of having made two such

important

important acquisitions, and we appeared in our own eyes to have half conquered the difficulty of reaching the North Cape. Influenced by these cheering ideas, we made the necessary arrangements for our journey.

We purchased a Russian tent to shelter us from the rain and the inclemencies of the weather; and laid in a stock of provisions for twenty days. This consisted of bread, biscuit, cheese and dried flesh of the rein-deer, with a cask of brandy. We provided ourselves with a double barrelled gun, a thermometer of Celsius, a map by Hermelin, and another by Pontoppidon; a compass which also marked the hour, a box for the reception of insects, tobacco, sulphur, and camphire for the preservation of birds and skins. By way of presents for the Laplanders we took nothing but brandy and tobacco; the former of these articles being of all others the most acceptable present you can bestow.

Our departure from Uleåborg brought out all the ladies and gentlemen of our acquaintance. They formed a sort of procession, which accompanied us all the way to the boat that was to carry us to the other side of the river. It was at ten o'clock at night, on the 8th of June, 1790, when the sun still shewed himself above the horizon. Our last farewell was tender and affecting; and my departure from this town will be a moment in my life ever grateful to my recollection. In those countries a man is not ashamed of the tears of friendship: he seeks not concealment when sentiment excites the emotions of grief or joy.

Having landed on the opposite side of the river, we pursued our journey

journey in a kind of waggon or cart drawn by horses. The place where we crossed the mouth of the river is about two thousand yards broad; there are boats for the purpose of carrying travellers over, with accommodation for a carriage and horses. Here the women perform the avocation of boatmen.

We changed horses at Sukuri, nine miles from Uleåborg: the road was very good, though always in the midst of woods and meadow grounds, called by the Swedes *ämg*, or *ing*, from whence is obviously derived the English word *inge*. In those countries meadows do not consist, as in other places, of open grounds without trees, but are in general covered with brush-wood and shrubbery, to which they send their cattle to pasture on the narrow pieces of grass that run through these meadows. The great woods, in which there are trees of enormous size, serve as a common pasture to all the peasantry of the neighbourhood. They constantly hang a bell about the horses' necks, and let them run about in the woods for four months, without giving themselves the least trouble concerning them. We changed horses about four times after leaving Sukuri, before we got to Testile, a place consisting of two or three wooden houses. The above four stages are too insignificant to merit any farther notice.

Having crossed a small river named Leivaniemi, in a ferry-boat, the scraping of a fiddle invited us to enter the hut of a peasant, standing on the left bank, where ten or twelve country people were dancing with all their might. Our entrance interrupted the dance, and the surprise occasioned by the novelty of

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our appearance seemed at first to lay some degree of restraint upon the dancers. The only one among them who shewed he was not to be discomposed was the fidler, who continued diligently in the practice of his calling; for he was blind, and consequently knew nothing of what happened around him. These peasants, however, soon became familiar with our foreign aspect; and being entreated to proceed and shew us their dance, they resumed their places.

Their dancing consisted in the most rustic jumping, without the smallest grace, mixed with certain capers; in executing which the women made their petticoats fly about in the air. There was no variety in their steps, nor passion in their attitudes, nor expression in any one of their countenances. They danced with the same earnest diligence that would have influenced them in the performance of any thing by which they were to have gained their bread. The only variety that entered into this exercise, was a difference in the position of their arms, which they alternately laid one over the other, in a very awkward manner, without discovering the most distant notion of taste or natural grace. It was somewhat curious to observe those people amusing themselves with such a serious air, and without even having the smallest disposition to smile. A pot of beer was placed upon the table, which every body might make free with, but was used only to quench thirst. It was so weak, however, and reduced so much with water, that it could neither stupify the senses, nor raise the spirits of the company. Every creature, even the musician was quite sober,

a very rare thing at a festival of Finlandish peasants, where they generally regale themselves pretty liberally with brandy. This party of pleasure apparently inspired so little mirth, that one could not help believing that the people danced from a sense of duty. In the number of six or seven women, which the female society was composed of, there was not one tolerable, or capable of exciting the smallest sensation of tenderness. They had coarse and vulgar faces, with shapes ill-turned; and did not suggest the slightest idea of any thing pleasing or graceful. The long waist of their clothes, with very short petticoats, contributed still more to render their figure disagreeable.

After having looked at their manner of dancing for some time, I took out my port-folio to note down the music. Scarcely had they seen me begin to write when they left off dancing, and came to see what I was doing. The blind fidler was unable to guess the cause of those interruptions, which diverted their attention from his music, and made them forget their dance. They at last let him into the secret, and we asked him to play us a couple of Finlandish dances, the most truly national in his collection. He gratified our curiosity, and I succeeded in taking down the tunes, which the reader will find in the Appendix.

After making a small present to the blind man, we withdrew from the *ball-room*, and mounted upon our waggon to prosecute our journey. The blind fidler, however, was so sensibly touched with our small present, that he got up, and under the conduct of all the dancers, not only followed us out of the house, but a
good

good part of the way, constantly entertaining us with the best music he had.

In our progress from Testile we were to change horses at Hutta, a small village of four or five houses, where they have one apartment for the accommodation of passengers. Bad weather and the fatigues of the journey determined us to pass the night in this place. As it was still too early to go to bed, we studied to employ this interval in the best manner we could. Some peasants and girls of the neighbourhood, prompted by curiosity to look at us, entered our chamber without ceremony. As we had some instruments of experimental philosophy along with us, we wished to give the good people some amusement: but the first object that attracted the admiration of the men and young people, was my double barrelled gun: they shewed such astonishment at this invention, that I am sure I could have purchased with it the house and all the women in it. They asked me how much I had paid for it, and guessing the price beforehand, one of them said to me, "At least one thousand rix dollars." They all exclaimed, "With such a weapon the old man in the pelice (meaning the bear), would have no chance." We shewed them our thermometer, a telescope, and last of all, to put an end to their oh! oh's! among other exclamations of wonder, we produced a microscope. We prefaced this entertainment, however, by observing to them, that before we could afford them any pleasure with this instrument, they must catch us a flea. The whole company fell a laughing at this demand, but perceiving that we were serious, and

persisted in our request, the young men began to examine their shirts, as well as those of the girls, and there was a general hunt for the little animal we wanted. The poor flea was never chafed with so much anxiety as on the present occasion. One of the girls withdrew for a little, and soon returned holding fast her prey. We strung the victim upon the needle of the microscope, and shewed it to our audience. It is impossible to express the gestures, the exclamations, the cries of admiration, which the sight of this animal of wondrous size drew from them. Luckily the instrument was of no great consequence, or I should have thought it in much danger of being broken in a thousand pieces. Our spectators, male and female, snatched it out of one another's hands with the most astonishing impatience. They never seemed tired of examining the different limbs and form of the little animal, accustomed to live at their expence.

From Huta to Kemi is about eighteen miles, which we accomplished on Monday the 10th of June.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Minister of the Parish of Kemi—Environs of this Town—The River near Kemi : Danger of navigating it—The Church, a magnificent Building—Striking Contrast it makes with the miserable Huts around it—Walk from Kemi to a short Distance to look at some Church Bells—Experiment tried by the Author of a Finnish Vapour-Bath—Some Intelligence relative to Botany and Entomology—Departure from Kemi, and arrival at Torneå.

WE were lodged at Kemi in the house of Mr. Castrein. This gentleman, whom I had not seen before, though I had heard much of him at Uleåborg, was the person who proposed to attend us on our northern expedition. He is a man of extreme gentleness and politeness of manners, and is possessed of much knowledge, though without pretension to it, and without being aware of his own merit. He speaks Latin well, French a little, and understands German. Latin and German were the languages we preferred for our conversation. Mr. Castrein is the first minister of the parish of Kemi; and he has the superintendence of a country comprehending about nine hundred English miles square. Besides his wife and children, he has eleven brothers and sisters to support: by this numerous family he is looked up to as their com-

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mon father, and the most perfect harmony reigns among all its members.

We were two days at his house, and in different excursions visited the environs of Kemi, which, compared with those of Uleåborg, appeared like a paradise. The prospect is more diversified, the grounds are bolder, here and there swell into little hills, and are by no means so flat and sandy as in the vicinity of the former city. Here the river is considerably broad, nor is it without danger, inasmuch that at Kemi and other places they have pilots to navigate their trading vessels to its junction with the sea. In some places there is not a sufficient depth of water for boats of a large size. Two years ago a merchant in the neighbourhood wished to construct a much larger boat than had ever been seen before on this river; and he conceived it would be very feasible to float it down when the river happened to be overflowed. The boat was laden with grain, and had some persons on board: it fortunately escaped the three principal dangers, or falls, and had only to pass two more, which they considered of less consequence; but the boat struck, was dashed to pieces, and many lives were lost. A large portion of the wreck remains in view to this day between the rocks of Kemi, serving as a melancholy memorial of this unfortunate enterprise, and as a warning to the imprudence and avidity of projectors and merchants.

The river Kemi abounds in salmon; and their fishery is so lucrative as to afford a principal part of the minister's income, amounting to more than a thousand rix dollars annually. Opposite

sites to the church, and in the middle of the river, is a small island, where the inhabitants of Kemi hold a fair once a year, at which they sell and exchange salmon, either for money or for other articles.

The church is an edifice which offers a singular and surprising contrast to a foreigner travelling in this country, where he would not expect to see any public building in the style of regular architecture, and in all respects worthy of one of our own towns. This structure being of stone, must have cost an immense sum, considering the few resources of those poor people, who could easily dispense with such an expensive building, and pray to the Deity as effectually in a wooden temple. The design of this church was made by the academy at Stockholm, and was honoured with the approbation of Gustavus III. It is adorned with a dome or cupola, and three principal entrances, with doric pillars, and hence has the appearance of a Grecian temple. Placed in those savage regions, in the midst of woods of fir trees, and contrasted by the scattered, contemptible huts around, it forms a wonderful and striking object.

It is with sincere pain I must here remark, that close to this magnificent temple I entered the hut of a poor Finlander, the diminutive size and external meanness of which had attracted my notice. He was probably the poorest native of Finland I had met in the course of my travels to this place: the space of ground on which his house stood was twelve square feet, and the roof six in height. This unfortunate man had a complaint in one of his hands, which rendered him unfit to gain his livelihood by labour.

labour. His wife was making their bread, and had heated the oven to bake it; the bread contained so much straw, and so little meal, that in order to make the dough adhere, she was obliged to use a wooden frame, such as is employed in making cheese. He had neither field, nor cow, butter, milk, nor animal food, and was existing in the most deplorable condition. I confess the presence of those doric pillars, contrasted with so much poverty and misery, irritated my feelings to such a degree, that I should not have been sorry to see them a heap of ruins. To what purpose this parochial magnificence, while the parishioners themselves remain in a state of starvation! "Down," said I within myself, "down with the pillars, cupola, and temple; give again to these poor wretches their wonted humble place of devotion, and instead of wasting treasure on idle show, bestow it in cultivating the soil and giving them subsistence."

Nothing in society can be the source of more melancholy to a feeling mind, than a quick and violent contrast of extreme poverty and luxury. I remember to have experienced similar mournful reflections on the inequalities among men in the course of my travels through the British dominions. It was in Ireland, where, happening to be with a hunting party, I perceived a hut formed from a dunghill; on looking within, I saw naked children sleeping without any sort of covering for their bodies, with their father, their mother, and with hogs: and what supported this miserable hovel? A wall of ten feet high, which surrounded "his honour's" park. With regard to the poor Finlander, of whom I have been speaking,

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ing, I communicated my impressions to Mr. Castrein, who was affected by my description, and promised to take care of that unhappy family.

One of the wonders which our new friends were desirous to shew us in our walks about Kemi, was a bell that was intended to be fixed in the dome of the new church. We were accompanied thither by Mr. Castrein's sisters, and our expedition was considered as a kind of sacred visit. The great object of our curiosity turned out to be a couple of bells of a moderate diameter: they were loaded with a number of Finlandish inscriptions. The place where they were, was but at a little distance from the minister's house. Most of our party, ourselves excepted, were perfectly acquainted with the language of Finland; and the ladies undertook to read the inscriptions, and translate them into Swedish. The prettiest girl in the company immediately read aloud, "*Catzo*," &c. &c. Scarcely had she pronounced the word, when we began to laugh like fools, and the ladies, ignorant of the cause of our mirth, thought that *catzo* must be a very laughable word, and therefore never ceased repeating it in the whole course of our walk, at table, in conversation, and on all occasions. Let the reader judge what sort of effect this word, so often repeated by the company, must have produced on the ears of two Italians. *Catzo*, in Finlandish, signifies *here is*.

Mr. Castrein, who wished to instruct me in all the Finlandish customs, asked me if I had ever bathed according to the usage of the country; and being answered in the negative, said, we should

then take the bath together, that I might become more familiar with the manners and customs of the natives. The stones, in the small apartments of the bath were accordingly heated, and a young girl of eighteen years of age, who had the office of attending, informed us when every thing was ready. After we entered the bath, the girl first stripped us naked, and then began to throw water as usual upon the stones. She presented us with a basin of cold water, and birch rods, with which we were to switch ourselves. Feeling as a stranger, I was quite out of countenance at my present situation, but strove to keep up my spirits by constantly turning my eyes towards my companion, and endeavouring to imitate, as much as possible, his most exemplary indifference. The heat of the vapour rose to fifty degrees of Celsius: at first I felt a violent oppression, and had it quickly augmented, I believe, naked as I was, I should have made my escape from the bath; but forcing myself to persevere, I became gradually accustomed to it, and after some time was able to support a heat of 65 degrees. Under this heat it was an extreme pleasure to throw water upon the head, and to feel it running all over the body. The birchen rods were garnished with leaves, and by dipping them in the basin of cold water, and afterwards lashing the body, one enjoys nearly the same sensation. Having been about half an hour in the bath, my friend Castrein, as I declined being the first to submit to all the usual discipline of the place, entered upon the process without delay, in order that I might see how I ought to conduct myself in my turn. The girl gave him a little stool to sit upon, threw

threw cold water upon his head, squeezed his hair, and with soap and water washed his whole body, and rubbed him down to the girdle. She then went to his feet, and rubbed his legs completely, particularly his ankles, and the tendon achillis. Meanwhile I was extremely attentive, and almost stupified at the whole operation: but what astonished me most was the perfect apathy with which the minister endured this long and stimulating process. When it came to be my turn to submit, I found myself in a state of extreme embarrassment—and at last I was very glad to get on my clothes, and walk out of the bath. At quitting it, we made a present of some halfpence to the girl: this is a very ancient custom, to which every individual invariably conforms, and is observed even by a master towards his servant, as in the present instance. This present has a particular appellation in the language of Finland, namely *sauna raha*.

Before we take our leave of Kemi, it is proper I should give some account of our botanical excursions. Mr. Castrén is an excellent botanist, though he follows this pursuit more as an amusement than a branch of study. It is to him that the science is indebted for the discovery of a famous plant, viz. *cyripedium bulbosum*, which was first seen by Rudbeck, in the year 1685, but had never been found since by any botanist, not even by the great Linnæus, who passed this way in July, and consequently a month after it had been in flower. This plant skulks among the underwood and fir-trees, which surround the church of Kemi. It modestly eludes the prying eyes of the passenger, and loves the tem-

perate enjoyment of the sun's rays, which can only reach it by insinuating themselves between the branches of the bushes that overshadow it. Dr. Smith, Prof. L. S. has given us a coloured figure of it extremely accurate and lively, which the reader may see and admire in his collection of rare plants. This is one of the rarest as well as most beautiful productions of the North; it is indigenous in the parish of Kemi. Hitherto it has been discovered no where else, except, as I have been informed, in North America. The other plants in flower which we observed in this neighbourhood, are the following:

<i>Daphne mezereum</i>	<i>Ranunculus acris</i>
<i>Vaccinium myrtillus</i>	<i>Trollius Europæus</i>
<i>Lychnis dioica</i>	<i>Caltha palustris</i>
<i>Viola palustris</i>	<i>Arbutus uva ursi</i>
<i>Viola canina</i>	<i>Pinus abies</i>
<i>Viola tricolor</i>	

INSECTS.

<i>Cimex lacustris</i>	<i>Hunero bius lutorius</i>
<i>Tipula juniperina</i>	

As Mr. Castrein, from his love to botany, and a hope of discovering new plants in the deserts of Lapland, had resolved to attach himself to our expedition, we accordingly set out altogether from Kemi, and arrived at Torneå the same day. We changed horses only once, which was at Leivaniemi, and we met with nothing worth mentioning on the whole road to Torneå, except the ravages which the inundations of the rivers had made this year, by
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throwing down all the bridges, and overflowing a vast tract of the surrounding country. Spring-time, which in other countries is the season that brings along with it every thing grateful and of good presage, is here the forerunner of misfortune, and frequently of the most terrible disasters. The snow, as it melts on the tops of the mountains, produces enormous swells in the rivers, which, breaking up the ice, hurry along with them vast masses, heaped one upon another. These tear down, sweep before them, and lay waste every thing they meet in their course which may tend to oppose their violence.

In going to Torneå you are obliged to cross in a ferry-boat, and leave the horses on the left bank of the river, which at this place is extremely broad and majestic. At a small distance from the spot where we entered the boat, is the church of Lower Torneå, from which there is a fine view of the town, and where we used sometimes to amuse ourselves by contemplating the sun at midnight. There is a very good inn at Torneå, and we found the host extremely civil and obliging.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Maupertuis's Description of Torneå—Account of this Town, by the Author—The Climate—View of the Sun at Midnight—Prospect from the Church of Lower Torneå—Harbour of Torneå—State of the Bothnian Gulf in this Vicinity—Trade of the Town—Some Travellers mentioned that have visited Torneå—Inscriptions preserved in the Church at Jukaszervi.

FROM the time that Maupertuis, and the other French academicians, travelled into this country to measure a degree, as a mean of ascertaining the actual figure of the earth, Torneå emerged from its obscurity, and is now well known to all the world. The first advance it made towards fame was not in its favour. Maupertuis's description of it, which he read in the academy at Paris, inspired every breast with tender commiseration for the poor inhabitants, who had the misfortune to be born in so miserable a town. "The town of Torneå," he says; "on our arrival there on the 30th of December, presented an aspect truly frightful. The low houses, from bottom to top, were sunk in the snow, which hindered the light from entering in by the windows, while the snow always falling, or ready to fall, obstructed the rays of the sun, which was seldom visible even for a few

" a few minutes at mid-day. In the month of January the cold
 " was so great, that the thermometers of Reaumur, which fell
 " 14° degrees below the freezing point at Paris during the great
 " frost of the remarkable winter of 1709, here fell to 37 degrees.
 " Spirits of wine froze. On opening the door of a warm room,
 " the external air rushing in, instantly converted the vapour within
 " into a fleece of snow. On going out of the room, one's breast
 " was as it were torn by the air: every moment there appeared, in
 " the cracking noise made by the bursting of the wood of the
 " houses, threatening symptoms that the intenseness of the cold
 " would be still farther increased. From the solitude that reigned
 " in the streets, one would have supposed all the inhabitants to
 " be dead: in short, at Torneå there were to be seen persons who
 " had been mutilated by the frost; some had lost their legs and
 " arms. The cold, always very great in those parts, was often so
 " severe as to prove fatal to those who were exposed to it. A sud-
 " den tempest of snow at times menaced still greater danger.
 " The wind seemed to blow at once from every quarter of heaven,
 " and with such violence, as to throw down the chimneys of
 " houses. Any one who should be caught in such a storm in the
 " country, would in vain endeavour to find his way by means of
 " his acquaintance with places, or marks made by trees. He is
 " blinded by the snow, and plunges into some abyss if he move
 " a step."

If the academician draws a frightful picture of Torneå, which
 he saw only in winter, we are in a condition to supply its counter-

part in summer, and efface the traces of those melancholy impressions which his exaggerated description may have left on the imagination of the reader.

The town of Torneå contains a population of scarcely six hundred souls. The houses are almost entirely of a single story, though high enough to exclude the moisture of the snow in winter. The merchants of Torneå inhabit the southern part of the town, which they have been at pains to embellish, and render as agreeable as possible: they have made a public walk, laid out gardens, planted some trees, and have studied by their industry to compensate for the defects of nature. The obscure days of winter are counterbalanced by the almost continual presence of the sun in summer, and their 48 degrees of cold, to which the mercury falls in one season, are exchanged for 27 of heat, to which it rises in the other; for these are the two extremes of the thermometer that have been observed in Torneå.*

The town is almost entirely encircled by the river Torneå, which spreads itself here in a majestic stream. The opposite banks present a number of cottages and farm houses, which the river, when quiet and undisturbed, reflects from its pellucid waters. Northward you see a small elevation, on the top of which stand several wind-mills, and lower down to the north-east are some meadow grounds and cultivated fields. It is commonly from one of those wind-mills that travellers view the sun at midnight in

* See De la Motraye's Travels, vol. ii. p. 288. He was in Torneå 19th May, 1718, and found all the town destroyed by the Muscovites.

the month of June; but the place most particularly calculated for enjoying this spectacle, is the church of Lower Torneå, situated on the isle Biörkö, about a mile from the town. Besides seeing the sun entirely above the horizon at this point of view, the eye commands the environs of Torneå, the two mountains Bakamo and Korpekila, and the town itself, which is built upon the little island, or rather peninsula, of Swenfar. The houses, and the church with its steeple, being reflected from the smooth surface of the river, afford a very pleasing picture. •

Merchant ships, that sail up the gulf of Bothnia, may come almost close to the town; and indeed, anciently, Torneå was famed for its excellent harbour. The sand, which the sea carries into the northern parts of the gulf, seems to threaten ruin in the course of time to the trade of this province: for it appears to me certain, almost to demonstration, that the ports of Torneå, Uleåborg, and some other places in the northern quarter of the gulf, lose in depth of water every year.

This town was founded in consequence of an order of Charles IX. when he passed through this province in the year 1602. The articles of their export trade are butter, tallow, salted and dried meat, salted and smoked salmon, strömingen, which are a species of small herrings,* planks, and timber for building, tar, skins of rein deer, foxes, wolves, ermines, and of other animals belonging to the country, with a vast quantity of birds. The articles they import

* *Clupea harengus minor*; *membras veterum*.

are corn, flour, salt, hemp, flax, woollen cloth, coarse linens, tobacco, and spices.

In the winter season the merchants travel in their sledges to different fairs, where they buy of the Laplanders their most valuable furs, and give them in exchange fish, meat, meal, and brandy. Some of them proceed as far as Archangel, and others to Alten in Norwegian Lapland. They carry on a contraband trade, which is the most profitable of all others; and as the boundaries which divide Norwegian from Swedish Lapland, are but ill guarded, they easily convey from one side to the other such articles of commercial speculation as they find most advantageous. They send to Stockholm great loads of salted flesh of the rein-deer, and an infinite number of birds. There are years in which they export thither to the amount of four thousand birds, which in winter will keep for some months without spoiling in the least.

A view of the sun at midnight in Torneå, has always been regarded as an object singularly interesting; and hence a very considerable number of travellers have visited this place. I was at pains to seek out and take down the names of such as are most distinguished for their curiosity, literary labours, and merit, and who have a right to be added to the list of men of letters. Perhaps it will not be unacceptable to my readers to see such of the names as I have been able to collect, which are the following: I begin with the first French traveller in this country

In the year

1681 Jean Franc Regnard, de Fescourt & de Corberou:

In the year

- 1694 King Charles XI. of Sweden.
- 1695 The professors Spoli and Billberg, sent by King Charles XI. to observe the elevation of the sun at midnight.
- 1695 Professor Olaus Rudbeck, for the purpose of making discoveries in natural history.
- 1696 John Ulric Westmüller.
- 1718 Aubris de la Motraye, who has printed his travels in English, which, in general, are very accurate as to what relates to Lapland.
- 1736 The president Gyllingris, who has published his remarks on this country in Swedish.
- 1736 Maupertuis, Outhien, Sommereux, D'Herbelot, and Celsius.
- 1769 Mr. Mallet, professor of astronomy. He passed by Torneå in his way to Pello, where he was to observe the transit of Venus over the Sun.
- 1783 The Marquis Paul Arconati Visconti.
- 1786 Mr. Marey, a French emigrant.
- 1787 Le Chevalier Statella, knight of Malta.
- Le Marquis de Tourbie.
- William Langhorn, an American, famous for his walking. He passed the mountains during summer to enter Norway, and returned on his way to Archangel.
- John Stuart, an American.
- 1791 Dr. Quenzel, a Swede, for the purpose of making researches in natural history, particularly in entomology.

In the year

1792 The president Vefsvrotti, with Mr. Outiverou, secretary of legation to the Spanish embassy.

— Mr. Lifton, minister from England at the court of Sweden.

— John Scheller, a German, who has published his travels.

1796 Le Duc de Chartres (now Duke of Orleans), with Mr. Montjoye, incog. under the names of Muller and Froberg.

1799 Mr. Bernardo Bellotti, from Brescia; Joseph Acerbi, from Castelfoffredo; Colonel Skiöldebrand, from Stockholm; Mr. Julin of Ulcåborg.

— Mr. Clark, with Mr. Cripps, two Englishmen.

— Mr. Swamberg, secretary of the academy of sciences at Stockholm, sent to verify Maupertuis's measurement of a degree.

Linnæus of course came to Tornå in his travels through Lapland, but I do not exactly remember the year. *See Iter Lappon.*

Some of those persons penetrated as far north as Jukasjervi, and a few of them went even beyond it. It has been the common practice for travellers to pursue the direction of north-west, as it has always been supposed, that to steer due north is impossible. In the church of Jukasjervi there is a book, in which, in imitation of Regnard who first came to this place, they have had the ambition to write their names, and to shew their talents as men of wit. As it is a collection which shews the genius of the men, and of no great length, I thought I should not displease the reader by laying it before him.

No. I.

“ Gallia nos genuit, vidit nos Africa, Gangem

“ Haufimus, Europamque oculis lustravimus omnem,

“ Cafibus et variis acti terrâque marique

“ Siftimus hic tandem, nobis ubi defuit orbis.

“ Des Fescourt, de Corberou, Regnard, at Jukasjervi,

“ 18th August, 1681.”

Every body knows Regnard and his dramatic performances. He was the first Frenchman who took it into his head to travel so far to the north; and he was so enchanted with his success, that he fancied he had reached the end of the world, though he might have continued his journey two hundred miles farther in the same direction, without having a right to employ the last line of his inscription. If we could believe him, he met with a French blacksmith in Lapland, who told him, that in his whole life he had seen but one traveller in that country, and that was an Italian. Upon his return to France he published his travels through Lapland, full of untruths and exaggeration, written rather to amuse than instruct, though the book made much noise at the time. He says, for example, "That he met blacksmiths in Lapland, who had the skin of their hands so hardened and callous, that they could hold melted lead for some time in the hollow of the hand." He also tells you, "That the eagles carry up into the air the young rein-deer, and that the *petits gris* and ermines hang themselves on a tree in autumn, to prevent their dying of hunger in winter, &c."

No. 11.

No. II.

“ Gallia mihi lucem dedit, et liberum Angliā portum ; utraque me
 “ Germania, Græcia Magna Minorque, mons Jovis, ac Barcellona,
 “ Herculisque columnæ, ambæ Asiæ, Italia, Africa, hisque opposita
 “ Melite, Euxina et Mæotica, Caspia, Baltica nec non littora viderunt,
 “ vidit Polus Arcticus ipse, et mihi inocciduum ostendit Lapponia fo-
 “ lem ; proque cibo et potu carnem et lac rangiferinum præbuit, ut
 “ Tartaria olim præbebat equinum.

“ Hæc scribebat ad Jukasjerviam rediens ex Torniavenfi lacu Aubris
 “ de la Motraye, Magnæ Britannix subditus, 13 Junii, 1718.”

Mr. Motraye seems to have been a traveller of consequence. It appears from his biographer, that he lived in particular habits of friendship with Charles the XIIth, king of Sweden. When he printed his Travels in England, he does not seem to have been quite pleased with his inscription at Jukasjervi, which is neither verse nor prose (as he would make us believe that he wrote it extempore), and he has altered it in the following manner:—

“ Me genetrix tenuit bis denis amplius annis,
 “ Gallia, me Italia, Africa terra, Britannica regna,
 “ Ambæ Asiæ, Melite sterili vicina Cosyræ,
 “ Utraque me Germania, Græcia Magna Minorque,
 “ Urbes Tarraco, Barcinon, Herculeæque columnæ,
 “ Euxina et Mæotica, Caspia, Baltica nec non
 “ Littora viderunt ; vidit Polus Arcticus ipse,
 “ Ac mihi inocciduum ostendit Lapponia solem,
 “ Proque cibo ac potu carnem et lac rangiferinum

“ Præbuit,

"Præbuit, ut quondam præbere solebat equinum

"Tartaria.

"A. de la Motraye, die 23 Junii, 1718."*

No. III.

"Benché un secolo piu tardi, spinto però da non minor curiosità, dalla Lombardia il Marchese Paolo Arconati Visconti visitò questo luogo ai 5 di Luglio, 1783."

No. IV.

"Est terra antiqua ubere glebâ potens, Lingones Colucreviri, Burgundiam nunc Galli cognomine dicunt, hæc mihi patria. Plures perlustravi regiones : vidit me Germanus, superbi viderunt Britanni, et quos dives pascit Flandria, atram vomere qui paludem exercuerunt Batavi, qui bibunt Vistulam Danubiumque, horrentes Alpum qui tenent rupes, Tiberis qui sacrum colunt littus, plures que alii. Post varios casus et magna discrimina rerum, polares appuli ad aras, inocciduam solem, rangiferorumque gelidum ubi Lapponem ubera vident pressantem. Cursus fuit ad locum quam Waida-Kasta dicunt, nullus ubi antea penetravit viator. Multum fui et terris jactatus et cataractis, multum quoque et culicibus passus ; rediens ex his desertis, et propeans in Galliam fedes ubi fata dederunt jucundiores, Lukasjervino hanc in templo apposui inscriptionem, 7 Julii, 1796."

"Marey, a native of France, who alone have traversed the deserts of Lapland."

"Tombeau de la nature effroyables rivages

"Que l'ourse dispute encore a l'homme sauvage."†

* See his Travels, vol. ii. p. 323.

† Prou, in his Tragedy of Gustavus Vasa.

No. V.

“ Non mihi fama sed hospitalitatis et gratitudinis testimonium.

“ S. Stewart, civis orbis 3^o Julii, 1787.”

No. VI.

“ Justice bids me record thy hospitable fame, and testify it by my name. W. Langhorn, United States of America, July 23, 1787.”

No. VII.

“ Gallia me genuit. Gallia! heu gloriosa, hodie contempta, cras forsitan nihil! Regi fidelis, patriâ, sub rege quondam felice, nunc plebeianâ tyranniâ oppressâ, emigravi; Magnam Britanniam, Hispaniamque cognoscebam; primum Italiam, postea Hungariam vidi, Helvetiam revisens per totam Germaniam, Poloniam, Moscoviam, Russiam peregrinatus, per Finlandiam Stockholmiâ accessi, unde in Lapponiam incurri, in societate Francisci Outaveri Hispani natione, ex Nallia in regno Murciae. Hospitium dedit venerandus admodum Jukasjervensis pastor Daniel Engelmark, cui testimonium gratitudinis meae hic affero.”

“ Carolus Ricardus de Vefvrotti, vir nobilis ex Dijone in Burgundiâ, Praeses in supremâ nationum curiâ has visitavit regiones, die 4 Februarii, 1792.”

CHAPTER XXVII.

Residence at Torneå—Some Individuals of this Place mentioned—A new Addition to the travelling Party : Enumeration of the scientific Persons that now composed it—Departure from Torneå—Some topographical Remarks on the Environs—Face of the Country between Torneå and Upper Torneå—Different Stages that are passed—Salmon Fishery—Particular Method of catching these Fish—An old Man serving for a Guide—A Bathing-place, after the Finlandish Fashion—Hand-mills for grinding Corn—A few Plants mentioned.

DURING our stay at Torneå we became acquainted with every person who was at all disposed to be sociable. The most considerable merchant of the town is Mr. Richard, a man well acquainted with the concerns of his country, and possessed of a great share of natural good sense : he has been always a representative in the national diet, and is the most corpulent man I ever saw in any country. The burgomaster of Torneå was extremely polite and obliging. We received civilities from the master of the town-school, who speaks French, and is a man of some merit : he lives, much against his inclination, in so remote a corner of the North : he is fettered to the place by the ties of a wife

and children. We likewise had the good fortune of being introduced to Dr. Deutsch, a person of gentle and engaging manners, and at the same time very skilful in his profession. He is a great lover of the study of natural history, and had by his own industry made a very pretty collection of Swedish and Laplandish insects, and one of plants: he had also made some progress in collecting birds. He had constructed a small electrical machine, and his own ingenuity had supplied the want of those means which are so easily obtained in the more southern countries.

Upon becoming acquainted with the Doctor, we found him so intelligent a man, that we were desirous to induce him to become one of our party, and therefore made the proposal to him, which he accepted; more indeed, I believe, from a love of science, and particularly of natural history, than from any other consideration. His profession would not admit of a longer absence than a fortnight; but, to oblige us, he consented to go with us as far as Kengis-bruk. We now only wanted one individual to complete our caravan. We had in Mr. Castrein a very good botanist; in Mr. Julin, a mineralogist; in Dr. Deutsch, an excellent entomologist; in Colonel Skiöldebrand, a landscape painter. As for me, I charged myself with the article of ornithology, and the office of digesting the communications of my fellow-travellers, who every evening gave me the names of the specimens they had found, with their own observations upon them. Never had any journey a more promising appearance at the outset; nor could Lapland ever have a chance of being explored in a manner more agreeable,

able, more instructive, and at the same time more useful. Nothing was wanting to render our travelling company quite complete but one man; this was Mr. Secretary Swamberg, whom we saw at Torneå, and who was on his way to Lapland, being commissioned by the academy of sciences at Stockholm to ascertain the truth of the operations of Maupertuis and his colleagues, which were undertaken at the same time that Condamine sailed for South America. An astronomer and mathematician added to our philosophical staff would have made us the most respectable corps that ever traversed the mountains of Lapland. He was our friend, and desired nothing more sincerely; but the ship which had on board his quadrant and other mathematical instruments of observation, was not arrived; and its arrival was so uncertain, that we could not hazard a delay, as our time became every hour more precious. We therefore resolved to depart, and proceed with all expedition to Upper Torneå, where we proposed to begin a more accurate course of observation.

The peninsula of Swensar, upon which the town of Torneå is situated, has by some been very improperly called an *island*. It is joined to the continent by a tongue of land, which, indeed, is overflowed when the river is high; but still horses in carts are able to ford it, and the people frequently pass it upon stepping-stones: it cannot therefore be considered as an island.

From Torneå to Upper Torneå we perceived no alteration in the nature of the country, nor in the houses or inhabitants of Finland. The convenience of travelling is the same, and you find

horses all the way. The road is naturally good, and kept in excellent repair: but at Upper Torneå every thing terminates; you instantly observe that you are about to enter an uncultivated country, and to take leave of the civilized world. No more horses, no road, no lodging for passengers, except a sort of caravan-fary, which the merchants of Torneå have provided for their accommodation in travelling in winter to the different fairs, which are held at places extremely remote. Without anticipating our detail, we will premise a sketch of the country and objects that fell under our notice on the route to Ofver, or Upper Torneå.

The environs of Torneå are extremely naked of wood: it was in great abundance formerly; but at present none remains, except in one district, where it is preserved by a proprietor for the purpose of harbouring game.

We changed horses at Kukko, which lies at the distance of seven miles from Torneå. *Kukko*, in the language of Finland, signifies *cock*, and it is probably the name for a particular species of that bird, whose crowing has some analogy to the note of the cuckoo. The line of the road runs pretty close to the river Torneå. After Kukko we passed very near to the villa of Mr. Richard, the merchant of Torneå, who is fond of a country life, and devoted to agricultural pursuits. He has laid out a garden, which he cultivates with great care, and in which he has made repeated trials to raise various exotic fruits and plants. His gardener told us he had attempted to rear apple trees, which had taken root and succeeded for three years, but then died. The only plant in flower when

when we were there was *bellis perrennis*; but the following grow in the neighbourhood: *berberis vulgaris*, *corylus avellana*, *tulipa*, *narcissus*, *aquilegia*, *torpeolum*, *pæonia*, *dianthus*, *ribes*.

We again changed horses at Frankila, a village consisting of a few wooden houses, nine miles from Kukko. We saw here some women whose looks were mild and rather agreeable; the children too of a good appearance; but we were struck at the sight of their bread, which is made of two thirds straw, cut very small, and one third of meal. From Frankila you see at a distance the mountain Nivavara, where still remains the signal post which the French academicians erected on its summit to assist in their trigonometrical operations:

After Frankila you change horses Korpicula (*korpi* signifies a wood, *kula* place), a distance of about eight miles. In this place the river Torneå forms a basin of tranquil and gentle water, which succeeds the boisterous tumult of a fall or cascade, called Matkakoski. The river presents no pleasing view in this vicinity. We found in a house hard by some peasants employed in making their fishing nets; there was one who smoked from so short a pipe, that my companion remarked it, saying to me in Italian, *che piccola pipa*. The Finlander who was smoking, understood perfectly our Italian, and repeated as he turned round to us, laughing, *picco pippo, picco pippo*; *picco* denoting in Finnish the same as *piccola* in Italian.

Eight miles from Korpicula is the church of Kirkonmäki (*kirko* signifying church, *mäki*, a hill), situated upon an eminence. About

half way the noise of the river, which is heard at a considerable distance, suggested to us the idea of a cataract; and having, in consequence of this circumstance, traversed a wood, with a peasant for our guide, we came to the place from which the sound proceeded, and found that it was occasioned by the vehemence and rapidity of the river forcing itself through a narrow passage. Here we fell in with two or three parties fishing for salmon, and we helped them to draw a net, which contained five or six fish of very considerable size.

The common method of catching salmon in the North is by driving a palisade, which extends from one bank as far as the middle of the river, and sometimes even to the opposite side: between the stakes of the palisade they put branches of trees, or perhaps net-work, which hinder the salmon from ascending the stream, and leave only one opening where the fish may pass through, but where they have placed a net which is ready to receive them. It is not permitted to make their *lax-pata*, the Finnish term for the palisade, longer than a certain measure, and they pay in proportion to its length, and also its proximity to the mouth of the river; for such as are high up the river can only catch the salmon that escape all the fishers below them. This palisade, or *lax-pata*, is always set where the river is most noisy, and where it forms a fall. The people of the country shew an incredible dexterity in walking along those stakes, which the force of the current shakes in a surprising manner: women and children trip over them with wonderful adroitness and facility. We wished

to give them our assistance in drawing their nets, and by a great exertion of courage, we got over almost one third of the palisade, but if one of my companions had not desisted in time, his head becoming giddy by the motion of the water under his feet, he must have dropt into the river. The children and even the men themselves are sometimes too confident of their agility, so that scarce a year passes without some of them falling in and being drowned, the current being too strong for a boat to be of any use to them.

The address with which the Finlanders drive their stakes into the bottom of the river, at places where the current is extremely rapid, deserves likewise to be noticed, as an operation highly dangerous as well as difficult, and to which those poor people sometimes fall victims.

In getting to this part of the river we went nearly an English mile out of the road, where we left our horses. Our guide, who led us across a small wood of firs by narrow footpaths, was upon his return to visit his cow-house, which stood in the midst of the wood. We could not avoid feeling interested for this man. He was seventy-five years of age, and had served in the war of Pomerania, or, as it is commonly called, the seven years war: he spoke German a little, had been several times wounded, and, as an invalid, had a piece of ground assigned to him. In this spot, separated from the world, his industry had improved his little fortune so as to enable him to live comfortably with his wife and children, and to feed eight cows, whose good condition afforded him infinite pleasure.

We took leave of our aged companion, and were pursuing our journey, when a storm and violent fall of rain obliged us to take refuge in a house upon an eminence on the left side of the river. Here we had an extensive prospect, which presented to our view different districts of the country overflowed by the river Tornea. This house had a bath quite in the taste of Finland, and we amused ourselves by looking at the men and women who entered into the bathing room. The men undressed themselves in the house, and ran naked into the bath, which is at a distance of fifteen or twenty feet from the dwelling-house. The women, it is true, took off their clothes in the bathing-place itself, but they threw their petticoats on the outside, and thus were obliged to come out, like so many Eves, to put them on. They threw their clothes out of the room to prevent their becoming wet by the vapour of the bath. When they were all in the midst of the bath, my curiosity influenced me to run in also to see what was going on, and to station my thermometer in a corner of the bath for the purpose of ascertaining the heat; but it was so insupportable, that being absolutely unable to breathe, I made my way out as fast as I went in, having had scarcely time to look around me. I twice attempted to place my thermometer in the room, but I was obliged to call my Finnish interpreter, who was more accustomed to it, and I found that the heat was 65 degrees of Celsius.

At Kirkomeki we met with what I may call an excellent lodging, and a very polite landlady, who was not of the same class with the peasantry, but a relation of a merchant in Torneå. In

a small

a small house adjoining, I saw a kind of hand-mill to grind corn for the family: it consisted of two round stones, in the uppermost of which was inserted a stick, whose other extremity passed through a hole in a triangular board, which was fastened to the corner of the room.

Proceeding six miles beyond Kirkomeki, we arrived at *Niemis* which word signifies, in the language of the country, a *promontory*: here we changed horses for the last time. It is a group of small wooden houses, where we saw some little boats on the river Armesjoki: the place is a small dependency of Torneå. Farther on you have a view of a mountain named Luppio, which is composed of rocks that are seemingly falling into ruins.

From Niemis to Upper Torneå is eight miles: this is the last stage of the journey. The road is mountainous, and in some places so full of sand, as to render it extremely fatiguing to the horses. We reached Upper Torneå on the eighteenth of June in the afternoon. The plants which we found in flower, in the course of this route, were the following:

<i>Menyanthes trifoliata</i>	<i>Cornus suecica</i>
<i>Trientalis Europæa</i>	<i>Leontodon taraxacum</i>
<i>Betula nana</i>	<i>Rubus chamaemorus</i>
<i>Andromeda polifolia</i>	<i>Rubus arcticus.</i>

CHAPTER XXVIII.

State of the Road from Torneå to Upper Torneå—The People that inhabit this Tract of Country—Ofver Torneå, or Upper Torneå—The Superintendent Minister of that Parish—Hospitality of the Clergy, and their Attention to Travellers—Visit to Mount Avafaxa: the Account which Maupertuis has given of this Mountain, very accurate—Remains of Signals upon the Mountain—Insects and Plants found on, or near Mount Avafaxa. Flora Avafaxensis—Meat kept very long in the cold Season—Departure from Upper Torneå: Loss of one fellow Traveller who returned home.

THE whole of the road from Torneå to Upper Torneå is tolerably well formed, and kept, as I observed before, in good repair, and of a sufficient breadth to admit of travelling in any sort of carriage: it has been made in the course of the last thirty years. When De la Motraye* was in this country, he was obliged to perform his journey in a boat. Travellers should contrive it so as never to have occasion for more than four horses at a time, as you meet with stages where there are no more to be found. If it should so happen that a greater number is wanted, the company should divide into two parties, one going on a day before the

* See his Travels.

other, who will have the same horses after they are returned from the first.

The country rises into small hills, which here and there are covered with pine and fir-trees. In the vicinity of rivers, and in marshy ground, the willow and birch-tree seem to be favourites of the soil. The prospect affords nothing very interesting, except the continual presence of the sun, which, as he never leaves the horizon, renders travelling by night extremely agreeable.

The inhabitants, on the whole of this route, are of the true Finnish race, and speak the genuine language of Finland; they all have the same habits, the same stature, the same dress, the same wants, and the same manner of living.

Öfver Torneå, or Upper Torneå, is the parish which has the superintendence of all the clergy and churches of that part of Lapland, which is in the dependence of Torneå. The head minister of the parish is the reverend Mr. Swamberg. Having paid our compliments to him, he insisted on our lodging at his house with our whole company, ten persons in all. The place where travellers commonly stop, is the village of Mattarange, at the distance of about a hundred yards from the clergyman's house; but Mr. Castrein, who was of our party, being himself a superintendent, and of the same rank with Mr. Swamberg, could not have remained with us, or done less than sleep at the house of a brother clergyman. There was still a more cogent reason for our lodging with Mr. Swamberg, namely, that at Mattarange the accommodations are miserably bad, and would not have been capacious

enough to hold all our party. Besides, it is an established custom, and generally followed by every traveller throughout the Swedish dominions, the great road excepted, to go directly to the clergyman's house, and to ask for a chamber to lodge in, with the same freedom as you would use at an inn; for the public houses kept by the peasants are so very bad, that it is impossible for decent company to stay in them. The clergy, who, for the most part, are wealthy, and wearied with the dull uniformity of living in those sequestered regions, cut off from all society, are extremely happy to receive a stranger who is acquainted with what is passing in the world, and with whom they may converse of public and of private transactions. He is entertained in a superior style, and treated with the most delicious fare they can procure.

The clergy almost universally speak Latin, some few German, and as they have had a college education, you find one now and then who speaks a little French: with the help of these languages you make yourself understood by the master of the family, but one suffers a vast disadvantage in not being able to speak, in some degree, the language of the country. In the houses of the clergy you sometimes meet with extremely handsome and amiable young ladies, who having for the greatest part been educated in a town, or amidst the pleasures and dissipation of the capital, return home with a certain polish in their manners, which is by no means calculated to render solitude pleasing, or to dispose their minds to support the contrast, and sudden change of situations, with philosophical equanimity. These young women, however, like their mothers, speak

ſpeak in general only their native tongue; and yet nothing can be more agreeable to them than the arrival of a traveller, and, above all, a young ſtranger of good appearance, who can one way or another make them underſtand him. His faults in ſpeaking ſeem to be as many graces of ſpeech, his ideas are always applauded as original, conſtantly found entertaining, and either at once underſtood or gueſſed. The more diſtant the country from which he comes, the more intereſting is his perſon; they contemplate his face, ſurvey him from head to foot; are unable to refrain a ſmile of pleaſure in ſeeing him, and in hearing him ſpeak: the gayety of the family diffuſes itſelf from the faces of the maſters to thoſe of the ſervants, and even deſcends to the cat and dog, which, on his account, dine and ſup better than uſual. As they are at a loſs to diſtinguiſh between a pleaſant and cheerful entertainment, and that of a uſeleſs and troubleſome profuſion; in order to mark their perfect good will to oblige you, they almoſt ſuffocate you with tea, coffee, chocolate, liqueurs, punch, and drink of all kinds, which ſucceed one another, in contempt of all order, with an oppreſſive rapidity. The moment of departure is always melancholy: you fancy it impoſſible to quit a houſe where you are the object of ſuch unwearied attention and politeneſs. Sometimes the young ladies will make uſe of ſome ſtratagem in order to detain you; and I will honeſtly confeſs, that I have occaſionally got into the carriage when my heart was well diſpoſed to remain.

Such was the unbounded hoſpitality we experienced in the houſe of the reverend Mr. Swamberg. His daughters were pretty,
lively,

lively, and possessed some degree of natural wit. One of them played on the piano-forte, and tolerably well for a dilettante of that climate. There is an organist here for the service of the church. The organ is a pretty good one, and was the object of the minister's highest ambition, who has the honour to be clergyman of the most northern church in Europe that has an organ. We passed two days in the society of this family, which, owing to the many different avocations that succeeded to each other with great rapidity, appeared very short.

Our visit to mount Avaxa was the pleasantest and most interesting of all our excursions. It is concerning this mountain that Maupertuis speaks in his book on the theory of the earth. Our walk was very similar to his, directed on the same side, and in the same manner as it is described by that academician. Our bodily labour was the same; and his description of the view from the top of the mountain is so exactly true, that I need only copy it to express my ideas. We even saw the falcons he mentions, and which he made some unsuccessful attempts to kill. The accuracy of his account gave us great pleasure, and I fancied I should gratify the reader by placing it here.

AVASAXA.

“ This mountain is situated about fifteen leagues from Torneå,
“ on the margin of the river, from which the access to it is not
“ very easy. The ascent lies through a forest, reaching up nearly
“ to its middle. The forest itself is interrupted by a great aggre-
“ gate

“ gate of rocks and slippery stones, after which you again find the
 “ wood which formerly extended to the top; I say formerly, because
 “ we had all the trees cut down with which the summit was covered.
 “ The north side of the mountain consists in a frightful
 “ precipice of rocks, in which the hawks build their nests. At
 “ the foot of this rock runs the Tenglio, which winds round the
 “ Avaxa before it discharges itself into the Torneå. From this
 “ mountain the prospect is very beautiful. Towards the south it
 “ is open and unbounded, and the river Torneå is seen to a vast
 “ extent. On the east, the eye traces the Tenglio as far as its
 “ course through sundry lakes. The view to the north extends
 “ to twelve or fifteen leagues, where it is interrupted by an assem-
 “ blage of mountains heaped on one another, reminding the spec-
 “ tator of the representations that are made of chaos, but among
 “ which it would not be easy to find one that would do justice to
 “ the prospect from Avaxa.” Maupert. vol. iii. 8vo. p. 110.

On the highest summit of the mountain we found a quantity
 of the remains of burnt wood, and many fragments which the
 lapse of time had rotted and reduced to decay. We imagined
 that they might be the relics of the trees which Maupertuis em-
 ployed in erecting his signals; but we were informed by the pea-
 sants, that they were left from the signals of alarm which had
 been raised in the year 1747, and likewise in the last war of Fin-
 land. These signals consist in heaps of wood which are set on
 fire to apprise the natives of the approach of an enemy. We our-
 selves made a large fire for our amusement as well as to mark
 the

the centre of rendezvous for the benefit of our company, who were engaged in different parts of the mountain. I will subjoin a list of the different objects of natural history, which were the fruits of our industry in the course of this excursion.

INSECTS.

Papilio Ligea	Silpha quadripustulata
Papilio rubi	Cerambyx noctis
Leptura interrogationis	Elater tessellatus
Tenthredo lucorum	Chrysomela Lapponica
Tenthredo virens	Cicindela fylvatica

PLANTS IN FLOWER.

Lycopodium complanatum	Convallaria majalis
Lycopodium Selago	Geranium palustre
Andromeda polifolia	Anthoxanthum odoratum
Ranunculus auricomus	Bartsia alpina
Vaccinium uliginosum	

Mr. Julin made a list of all the plants he could recognize on the mountain of Avafaxa, and called it *Flora Avafaxensis*; it is as follows:

Achillea millefolium	Erica vulgaris
Andromeda polifolia	Gnaphalium ?
Arbutus uva ursi	Juniperus communis
Betula alba	Sedum ?
Betula nana	Lycopodium clavatum
Caltha palustris	Lycopodium Selago

<i>Caltha palustris</i>	<i>Melampyrum sylvaticum</i>
<i>Canvallaria bifolia</i>	<i>Oxalis acetosella</i>
<i>Empetrum nigrum</i>	<i>Pinus abies</i>
<i>Epilobium ?</i>	<i>Pinus sylvestris</i>
<i>Populus tremula</i>	<i>Polytrichum ?</i>
<i>Cornus fucica</i>	<i>Sorbus aucuparia</i>
<i>Equisetum sylvaticum</i>	<i>Tanacetum ?</i>
<i>Lichen rangiferinus</i>	<i>Trientalis Europæa</i>
<i>Lichen geographicus</i>	<i>Trollius Europæus</i>
<i>Lichen tartareus</i>	<i>Vaccinium myrtillus</i>
<i>Rubus arcticus</i>	<i>Vaccinium vitis Idæa</i>
<i>Rubus chamæmorus</i>	<i>Viola canina</i>
<i>Rubus Idæus</i>	<i>Viola palustris</i>
<i>Rumex acetosella</i>	

Mr. Swamberg gave us for dinner, among other things, a roast of rein-deer, remarkable for its having kept good in his cellar eight months. The animal had been killed in the month of November, 1798, and we ate it the 19th of June, 1799. I wish, by mentioning this circumstance, to convey to the reader an idea of the length of winter in this country, and for how long a period it is possible to preserve iced meat sound. The roast was excellent, and it had not the least of an unfavourable smell; it had no fault, but that of being rather dry.

On the 20th of June, about midnight, we set out from Ofver Torneå, and all the pleasures of our hospitable quarters contributed to make us feel more sensibly the pain of our departure. This pain was much increased by the loss of Mr. Castrén's company, who

determined to return to his family for reasons that pleaded his excuse so forcibly, that we could give no opposition to the resolution he had taken. He had left his wife far advanced in her pregnancy, and the sensibility of his heart would not suffer him to expose himself to danger, nor to the contingencies of a journey, the period of which it was not easy to calculate. This loss was felt with real concern by all of us, and we were obliged to console ourselves on our way with pronouncing encomiums upon the excellent qualities, both of head and heart, of this clergyman, worthy of every thing that could be said in his praise.

The whole family of Mr. Swamberg accompanied us to the river-side, where the boat was waiting for us, and we lost sight of them, saluting them with our hats and handkerchiefs to the last moment.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Travellers henceforth proceed by Water—Strong Currents of the Rivers, occasioned by Cataracts—Pass by a Salmon-Fishery: manner of eating Salmon raw—Difficulty of navigating those Rivers—Stages on this Journey—Pass the Arctic Polar Circle, near the Cataracts of Kattila Kofki—A short Passage by Land—Pello, and Mount Kittis remarkable for Maupertuis's Astronomical Observations—Mr. Swamberg's Remarks on the Labours of Maupertuis; from which it appears, that his Observations are not to be depended on—Method of obtaining the Eggs of the Mergus Merganser—From Kardis to Kengis—Arrival at Kengis, and Hospitality shewn by an Inspector of the Mines—A Stone with very ancient Inscriptions taken Notice of by Maupertuis—Plants and Insects.

THE wind was quite fair, and made our boat proceed with greater expedition. Our Finlandish boatmen, unwilling to lose so favourable a moment for reposing their arms, put up a small sail, which served to force us against the current with a velocity sufficient to carry us on at the rate of five miles an hour. The boat was so small that it could hold but four persons in all, and the conflict of the wind in surmounting the resistance of the current, which was the effect of cataracts, produced such a swell

in the water, that it came sometimes into the boat ; a circumstance which was by no means pleasant to voyagers who had so recently changed their mode of travelling, and who were better acquainted with the dangers of land than water. Here we are then, entered into a country where all communication by land is precluded ; no more roads, nor horses, nor carriages of any kind ; in a country where you may travel about four hundred miles without ever seeing either a single horse, or any road.

Kaulimpe is the first village on the left bank of the river, where we changed our boat. We found here a *lax-pata*, or palifade for catching salmon. The people there had caught, in the course of the day, to the amount of three hundred pounds weight of that fish. We bought one of the largest of their salmon, and learned for the first time to eat it raw. It is cut into slices transversely and put in salt ; when salted, it is left in a wooden dish with a little water, and after three days this raw salmon is delicious eating. It is a favourite dish with the first nobility of Stockholm, inso-much that they seldom give a fine dinner when raw salmon is not presented on the table. This kind of provision was a great resource to us during our navigation of the rivers, as we were able to preserve it a long time, and might easily dress it, at least as often as we could find the necessary trifling ingredients.

At the village Telufis, otherwise named Juoxange, eight miles from Kaulimpe, we changed boats and boatmen for the second time. This voyage was still more tempestuous than the former. Our men, like their predecessors, wished to take advantage of the
wind,

wind, and we ascended, with the help of a sail, amidst falls and rocks, where we expected every moment to go to the bottom. It requires a most accurate knowledge of the bed of the river to venture on this navigation; and for this reason it is but prudent to change boat and boatmen at each village, as the peasants are all perfectly masters of the channel in their respective bounds. At certain intervals you will find in the whole breadth of the river but one opening where the boat can pass, and whoever is not apprized of it will probably run his boat amongst a thousand rocks without succeeding, but not without the most imminent danger of perishing.

Having arrived at Kattila Koski, the boatmen took down their sail and shewed us their address in ascending against the rapid current of the cataracts. Kattila Koski is a long series of waterfalls, formed by the stony bed of the river, and by huge rocks which rise above the surface of the water. These cataracts are particularly famous on the map, as being the place which corresponds to that division of the globe known by the name of the Polar Circle. To ascend in a small boat such a formidable succession of cataracts, where the water is almost every where rolling down in foam, would at first sight seem impossible; but nothing is impossible to man, whom habits have rendered familiar to danger. Those Finnish Laplanders, besides an address peculiar to themselves, have what perhaps is of still more consequence—the most perfect coolness and apathy. They take their places, one at the head and the other at the stern of their canoe,

and

and with a long pole which they thrust to the bottom of the river, find their point of resistance, and thus push the boat against the stream. This pole is made of a pine, and about fifteen feet long; they are obliged to throw it with all their strength to the bottom, in order to overcome the current which constantly impels it backwards. It is a Herculean labour; besides, it requires infinite practice to guide and manage the boat, forming, as circumstances demand, many a sharp angle, amidst a multitude of obstacles. The most disagreeable, and at the same time the most dangerous situation is, the man resting by accident the end of his pole upon a rock of a smooth or round surface, in the moment that he applies to it the whole weight and force of his body, the pole slips from under him; he falls in an instant headlong into the river, and the passenger gives himself up for lost. The Laplander, however, quickly recovers himself and prepares to repeat the same operation; but it sometimes happens that the current gets the ascendant and drives the boat a stern. In this critical juncture the whole address of the boatman is exerted to keep the head of the boat directly opposed to the stream, till he is again in a condition to push her forward; and above all, to prevent her laying her side to the current, as in that position, by presenting a larger surface to the water, she would instantly be overset.

In order to have some respite from this severe toil, the boatmen requested that we would disembark and walk along the bank to the end of these cataracts. We were greatly overjoyed to learn that it was practicable to go by land, and most cheerfully accepted their

their proposal. The great difficulty of passing those cataracts with a boat, containing more than two persons, had rendered it customary to perform this part of the journey by land. The woods being then impassable, a narrow foot-path had been formed in the direction of the river. The impracticability of travelling through those woods proceeded from the way being obstructed by under-wood, and the branches of firs and pine-trees; from a strong kind of moss, which grows here in great abundance, and sometimes two feet high; and from deep marshy soil, where you are in danger every step of sinking in the mire. These obstacles impeded the passage through the woods; and to remedy the evil the people had cut down trees and laid them longitudinally one after the other, in such a manner that the passenger as he walked along the trunks was obliged carefully to attend to his centre of gravity, and balance himself like a dancer on the tight rope.

We again changed our boat at Tortula, six miles from Tolafis, and pursued our voyage on the river all the way to Pello, which is twelve miles from Tortula. Pello is a village of four or five peasants houses; from this place you see the mountain Kittis, famous for being the last point where Maupertuis concluded his trigonometrical operations, and remarkable for nothing else.

I shall here present the reader with Mr. Swamberg's observations on the inaccuracy of Maupertuis's measurement.* These observations are found in "A report on a journey to Lapland, undertaken at the expence of the royal academy of sciences at

* See Maupertuis's Works, vol. iv. page 332.

" Stockholm,

“ Stockholm, to examine the local situation and contiguous
 “ grounds, where the French academicians, in the year 1736, de-
 “ termined the length of an arch of the meridian, as it crosses
 “ the polar circle; with general reflections on the figure of the
 “ earth, and upon the necessity of new measurements to ascertain
 “ exactly the equation; read at a public meeting of the said
 “ academy, on the 23d of October, 1799, by Sons Swamberg.”

“ The astronomer, as well as the mathematician, are perfectly
 “ agreed, that the spherical form of the earth’s figure, contains
 “ elements that must be taken into account, if we would know
 “ from theory the precise quantity of the procession of the equi-
 “ noxes and the nutation of the earth’s axis. These equations,
 “ and others * in effect less considerable, but which in the course
 “ of ages will be gradually developed, and will at last become of
 “ too much importance to be neglected, joined to the influence
 “ which a knowledge more or less perfect of the dimensions of
 “ our planet has on the accuracy of a calculation of all the phe-
 “ nomena which are in any degree concerned in the effects of the
 “ parallax, have determined the learned for almost a century and
 “ an half, to make it one of the principal objects of their most pro-

* In order to satisfy ourselves of the existence of such equations, we have only to recollect, that the earth not being a perfect sphere, and that the attraction of a body, whatever be its figure, being the sum of the combined attractions of all its particles, it necessarily follows, that the force by which we are drawn towards the sun will not vary exactly in the ratio of the square of the distances, and that consequently there will be a very slow motion in the line of the apsides, which however insensible it may be in the space of some decades of years, is not on that account the less real.

“ found

“ found and persevering researches. The philosopher, animated
 “ by the principle which is characteristic of human reason, and
 “ which uniformly tends to refer all knowledge to one point, to
 “ reduce it to system, and to collect the whole as into a focus,
 “ whence he may at one view survey the vast field of natural
 “ phenomena, perceives here a source of discoveries for perfect-
 “ ing to a great degree all the branches of real knowledge, and
 “ will endeavour to accomplish his object, at whatever expence
 “ of labour and time it may cost him. But this interest will be-
 “ come stronger, in proportion as he finds the relation which
 “ these pursuits, of great importance in themselves, all bear to a
 “ question, the solution of which is still a secret; namely, the
 “ question that has been so much agitated, respecting the figure
 “ of the earth. The navigator has every moment occasion to
 “ know what point he occupies on the surface of the globe. For
 “ this purpose, having observed any one phenomenon in the hea-
 “ vens, (we will suppose the distance of the moon’s centre from
 “ a particular star) he ought to be able to determine by calcula-
 “ tion, how this same phenomenon would appear to the eye of
 “ an observer placed at the center of the earth. Consequently
 “ into this calculation, the equation of the earth’s surface enters
 “ as an element, which, not being known with sufficient accu-
 “ racy, might easily give occasion to an error of some seconds;
 “ and astronomers are not ignorant of what moment such an
 “ error might prove. It was with a view to disembarass the me-
 “ thod of finding the longitude at sea from those uncertainties,

“ that the board of longitude in London proposed a prize of five
“ thousand pounds (or thirty-three thousand three hundred and
“ thirty-three six dollars, more or less) to whomsoever should
“ construct new tables of the moon, deduced from the principle
“ of universal gravitation ; the errors of which should be within
“ the limits of fifteen seconds, more or less. But the most scru-
“ pulous accuracy in the tables of the moon would completely
“ fail of its object, so long as the tables on the effects of the pa-
“ rallax are not proportionably exact. It was, among other mo-
“ tives, chiefly to remedy this defect, that the most celebrated
“ societies all over Europe, and particularly the royal academy of
“ Paris, after the attention of the learned had been called to this
“ object by Huygens, considered it as one of the most sacred du-
“ ties they could perform for the good of humanity, to clear up
“ this difficult point in mathematical cosmography. For this pur-
“ pose measurements of degrees of the meridian have been planned
“ and executed at different times, and in different places ; which
“ when properly examined, in fact give a concurrent testimony
“ that the earth is a spheroid, oblate, or flattened towards the
“ poles ; but differ however in this, that when you compare them
“ two and two, and suppose that the earth is generated by the
“ revolution of an ellipsis round its short axis, you constantly ob-
“ tain different values for the eccentricity of the generating
“ ellipsis. This is the true reason why philosophers have suspected
“ that this surface, 1st, is not a spheroid, or other surface of the
“ second order ; 2^{dly}, that it is not a figure that is the result of
“ revolutions ;

“ revolutions ; 3dly, that its two hemispheres on each side of the
 “ equator are not alike. Astronomers, nevertheless, having ob-
 “ served in the orbits of the heavenly bodies a sort of predilection
 “ for lines of the second order, and geometers having established
 “ on the most incontestible evidence, that any fluid body whose
 “ surface is of the second order, may remain in equilibrio, when
 “ the particles of which it is composed attract in the reciprocal
 “ ratio of the square of the distances, the learned have thought
 “ that they were not warranted by reasons sufficiently strong to
 “ abandon the ellipticity of the revolution ; having due regard to
 “ the smallness of the errors in the executed measurements which
 “ might very well give occasion to all the diversity of the results.
 “ But to be convinced how cautious we ought to be before we
 “ decide in matters of this sort, let us recollect the measurements
 “ executed by Jean Dominique Cassini over the surface of France,
 “ which at first sight seemed to prove that the earth, far from
 “ being oblate towards the poles, was rather a little raised or
 “ elevated. This result, so much the more striking, that it by
 “ no means agreed either with the theory of centrifugal force
 “ advanced by Huygens, or with the principle of universal gravi-
 “ tation established by Newton, having undergone a more rigor-
 “ ous investigation by geometers, they soon perceived, that not
 “ having perfectly seized the universality of the principle, they
 “ had considered as contrary what was in fact one of its most
 “ immediate consequences : and thus what they supposed was to
 “ overthrow the first foundation of the system of attraction be-

“ came its firmest support; inasmuch as the attraction of the
 “ Pyrenees, which by their vicinity produced a deviation in the
 “ plumb-line, was the cause of the error. But to place in a still
 “ stronger light the reasons that militate in favour of surfaces of
 “ the second order, I imagined it would not be deemed foreign
 “ to our object, if I subjoined here some general reflections con-
 “ cerning the developement of any functions whatever in series.
 “ In this view, let u be any function of $x, y, z, a, b, \&c.$ the
 “ question is to develope in a given succession in reference to the
 “ powers of $a, b, \&c.$ and u be what we suppose u becomes when
 “ it comprehends $a, b, \&c = 0$.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Farther, let } a = & U \times a A_{1,0} \times a^2 A_{2,0} \times a^3 A_{3,0} \times \&c, \\ & \times b A_{0,1} \times a A_{1,1} \times a^2 b A_{2,1} \times \&c, \\ & \times b^2 A_{0,2} \times a b^2 A_{1,2} \times \&c, \\ & \times b^3 A_{0,3} \times \&c, \end{aligned}$$

“ or the term whose co-efficient $a^m b^n$ is represented by $A_{m,n}$, we then

$$\text{“ know that } A_{m,n} = \left(\frac{d^{m \times n}}{da^m db^n} \right).$$

1.2.3. .m.1.2.3...n

“ Now, to shew the application of it to the present question,
 “ let us suppose that $u = 0$ is the equation which without any
 “ approximation represents the surface of the earth; but since
 “ we learn from all the known measurements of degrees of the
 “ meridian, that whatever be the figure of the earth, it does not
 “ differ

“ differ sensibly from that of a sphere, the equation $u = 0$ will
 “ necessarily contain one or more of those small quantities a , b ,
 “ &c so affected, that if we suppose them $= 0$, the remaining
 “ equation $u = 0$ will be that of a sphere, whose dimensions are
 “ equal to those of the earth; whence it will follow that u will
 “ be the first term of our developed series, as we have just said.
 “ Besides, if we except $aA_{1,0}$, and $bA_{0,1}$, all the other terms
 “ $a''b'' A_{m,n}$ may be disregarded on account of the smallness of
 “ the quantities a , b , &c.; consequently the surface of our globe
 “ will be represented by the equation $U \times aA_{1,0} \times bA_{0,1} = 0$.
 “ The whole then comes to this, to know what is the form of
 “ the functions $A_{1,0}$ and $A_{0,1}$, which being supposed of the se-
 “ cond order, the equation $u = 0$ will represent an ellipsoid,
 “ whose eccentricities of the equator, and of the meridian which
 “ passes through the great axis of the equator, will depend on the
 “ quantities a , b , &c. In respect of the figure of revolution, it
 “ is very clear that then the quantity a will be nearly equal to b ,
 “ or what is the same thing, if we make $a = b \pm b$, the quan-
 “ tity u will be very small; whence it follows that the equation
 “ $u = 0$, may be represented by this $0 = U \times bA_{0,1}$. In short,
 “ there is no reason to fear that the disregarded quantities should
 “ ever prove considerable enough to produce any error of conse-
 “ quence, as difficulties which in all probability we shall never be
 “ able fully to surmount, will for ever prevent our precisely know-
 “ ing

“ ing the value of the quantities a , b , &c., and there is conse-
 “ quently in the uncertainty of the value of those terms the germ
 “ of errors which would greatly exceed those which might arise
 “ from the omission of the other terms $a^m b^n A_{m,n}$. In all events,
 “ U being already known, $aA_{1,0}$ and $bA_{0,1}$ are quantities which
 “ ought to be first determined, whether it should be afterwards
 “ judged necessary to carry the approximation farther or not.
 “ In one word, we ought, in all our calculations, which de-
 “ pend on the figure of the earth, to operate precisely as in our
 “ calculations of the motion of the heavenly bodies, whose orbits
 “ we first suppose circular, then elliptical, and last of all we ap-
 “ ply to the former so corrected, the small equations which con-
 “ tain the quantities in which the ellipses themselves are defi-
 “ cient. Such are the reasons entertained by the astronomers of
 “ all Europe for unanimously insisting on the necessity of new
 “ measurements, executed with all possible care, with the assist-
 “ ance of the most perfect instruments, and according to the most
 “ approved methods of observing that the present age can sup-
 “ ply. Now, the French astronomers have just finished the con-
 “ struction of a suite of triangles, which as they pass through
 “ France extend from Dunkirk all the way to Barcelona, a space
 “ which forms an arch of the meridian $9^\circ 39''$, or $10'.72$, accord-
 “ ing to the decimal system. Nothing therefore could be more in-
 “ teresting to all such as labour for the advancement of astronomy
 “ and geography, than to hear that a committee has been ap-
 “ pointed

“ pointed by government to determine the length of an arch of
 “ the meridian comprehended between the parallel of the North
 “ Cape and that of Upsal, or, at least, to measure two or three
 “ degrees taken in the vicinity of the polar circle. In the mean
 “ time the academy of sciences thought it might not be improper
 “ to send some one of its members to Torneå, in order to inform
 “ himself as to the local circumstances of the grounds which, in
 “ 1736, were chosen by the French mathematicians as fixed
 “ points, and the execution of this plan was intrusted to me. I
 “ am now to give an account of the remarks which I was en-
 “ abled to make on the spot in regard to this subject.

“ The country in the neighbourhood of Torneå is extremely
 “ flat; towards the north, however, and in that quarter only, at
 “ the distance of eight leagues, more or less, there commences a
 “ chain of mountains which extends all the way to Kittisvaza,
 “ near the small village of Pello, from whence it becomes again
 “ flat to the distance of some leagues beyond Kengis, which is
 “ twelve leagues north from Pello. In the whole of those moun-
 “ tains there is not one of any considerable magnitude: Avasaxa,
 “ which I consider of a mean size, rises only to the height of six
 “ hundred and six feet above the level of the river. From this it
 “ follows, that no one of those mountains, considered by itself,
 “ could produce a sensible deviation in the plumb-line, unless it
 “ were very near one of the points where they determined the
 “ amplitude of the arch of the meridian, a circumstance which
 “ has no place here. It remains then to know what might be the
 “ effect

“ effect of their united attractions: but this even must have been
 “ very insensible; since, according to the highest estimate admis-
 “ sible, the sum of all the mountains from which any effect might
 “ be suspected, cannot be greater than a cubic league. Now this
 “ mass being supposed of a density double the mean density of the
 “ earth, and its center of attraction at five leagues distance from
 “ Kittisvaza, and ten from Torneå, could not produce on the
 “ plumb-line a greater deviation than $0''.3438$ at Kittisvaza, and
 “ $0''.0369$ at Torneå; whence it follows, that the total effect of
 “ this alteration could have been only $0''.4298$, and consequently
 “ the correction which ought to be made in the length of a de-
 “ gree of the meridian, such as has been measured by the French
 “ academicians, would be only $6''.3575$ to be added instead of a
 “ hundred toises, which it has been supposed ought to be deducted.
 “ I believe, then, I may affirm, that on my part there can be no
 “ suspicion of an error as to this subject, and that there is truly
 “ some error in the measurement of 1736 : the cause of this may
 “ be fairly attributed to a defect in the sextant or quadrant, or
 “ perhaps, which is no less probable, to some uncertainty in the
 “ base. Upon the whole, in order to settle all those doubtful
 “ circumstances, it seems absolutely necessary that this measure-
 “ ment should be wholly executed anew.”

“ To all this, give me leave to add one remark, which I had
 “ occasion to make at Torneå, and which, I imagine, well merits
 “ the attention of the learned.

“ We know that the French astronomers determined, at each
 “ station,

“ station, the elevation or depression of the other signals in relation to their horizon. I measured all those angles, and what surprised me a good deal was, that I found them always a little larger than they have been determined in the figure of the earth. The instrument I employed in my operation was a whole circle of fourteen inches and two-thirds diameter, graduated at each minute: nevertheless, I believe, that by the help of an estimate, one may assure himself that he is not deceived by more than ten, or at most fifteen seconds. A complete description of this instrument may be seen in the memoirs of the academy of sciences, at Stockholm, for the year 1750, 26th and following pages. The first suspicion that struck my mind, upon observing this difference, was, that it might arise from the point zero in that circle. This I examined on the spot, and found it wrong 1' 30". I continued the same examination for several successive days after I got to Tornœ; and taking the mean of my observations on terrestrial objects, as well as meridian heights of the sun, I observed that 1' 24" ought to be deducted from all the observations of heights, a circumstance which at the same time proves that the instrument had suffered no injury in travelling.

“ Individuals will make what remarks they please on my observations; I here subjoin them exactly as they were made.

Place of Observation.	Observations before Correction.	Observations corrected.	Observations of the French.	Difference.
Avasaxa.	P = + 8' 35"	+ 7' 11"	+ 4' 50"	+ 2' 21"
	C = - 11' 0"	- 12' 24"	= 14' 15"	+ 1' 5"
	h = - 16' 50"	- 18' 14"	- 20' 20"	+ 2' 6"
	H = - 3' 45"	- 5' 9"	- 8' 0"	+ 2' 5"
Huitaperi.	n = 15' 30"	- 16' 54"	- 19' 0"	+ 2' 6"
	A = + 0' 15"	+ 6' 51"	+ 5' 0"	+ 1' 51"
Horrisankero.	A = + 2' 0"	+ 0' 36"	+ 0' 0"	+ 0' 36"
	P = + 14' 10"	+ 12' 46"	+ 11' 50"	+ 0' 56"
Kakamavara.	n = - 18' 47"	- 20' 11"	- 22' 50"	+ 2' 39"
	C = - 2' 50"	- 4' 14"	- 4' 45"	+ 0' 31"
Stiemivara.	P = + 21' 30"	+ 20' 6"	+ 18' 30"	+ 1' 36"
Kittisvara.	P = + 26' 0"	+ 24' 36"	+ 22' 30"	+ 2' 6"

“ What may be the cause of this difference I will not take it upon me to say ; I am inclined however to believe, that it has its origin in the power, more or less considerable, which our atmosphere possesses of refracting the rays of light ; at least we cannot attribute it entirely to an error of the instrument, since an inequality of 2' 5" is altogether impossible in so small an angle as 5' 9" (See H at Avasaxa), the more so that in the angle C at Kakamavara, which is nearly of the same quantity, the difference is only 0' 31". On the contrary, it appears, from the theory of refraction, that these angles ought not to appear the same at different heights of the thermometer or barometer.”

Such are Mr. Swamberg's remarks on that important subject, which I hope the reader will not blame me for inserting in the course of these travels. I shall now proceed with the account of my journey.

From

From Pello to Kardis is eighteen English miles, a passage which was wholly performed against the current by the vigorous arms of our Finnish Laplanders, who, astonished us by the address as well as the strength they displayed, in the progress of this most laborious navigation.

We observed all along the river a particular mode, quite new to me, of obtaining the eggs of an aquatic bird, which is named *mergus merganser* by Linnæus. The natives are very fond of the eggs of this bird, which has very singular habits for one of this description. Whether it is from a kind of indolence, or a desire of concealing its eggs from birds of prey, it never builds a nest. The nest of aquatics in general, seems to be of no use but that of holding the eggs; for their young take to the water the moment they are out of the shell, and acquire their food in their own element. The *mergus merganser*, instead of building a small nest like the ducks, on the banks, or among the reeds or bushes, chuses to lay her eggs in the trunk of an old tree, in which time, or the hand of man, has made such an excavation, as she can conveniently enter. The person that waylays the bird for her eggs, places against a fir or pine tree somewhere near the bank of the river, a decayed trunk, with a hole in its middle: the bird enters, and lays her eggs in it: presently the peasant comes, and takes away the eggs, leaving, however, one or two. The animal returns, and finding but a single egg, lays two or three more, which the man purloins in the same manner: the bird still returns, and, as if she had forgot the eggs she had laid, proceeds once more to complete

the number she intended. She is defrauded of her eggs as before, and continues repeating the same process four or five times, when the man, who has by this time gathered perhaps a score of eggs from the same nest, suffers her to lay the last for the increase of her family. As soon as the eggs are hatched, the mother takes the chicks gently in her bill, carries and lays them down at the foot of the tree, where she teaches them the way to the river, in which they instantly swim with an astonishing facility.

From Kardis to Kengis is a distance of fifteen miles, which is accomplished with great fatigue, on account of continued cataracts and the violent current of the river. Besides the danger of the water-falls, we were much molested by a species of gnat, a circumstance which, in comparison of what we were to experience afterwards, perhaps does not deserve to be noticed in this place. Our servants began to murmur and complain of the excess of their hardships, of the extravagance of our travels: they thought it extremely foolish to suffer and hazard so much in a country where one does not meet with any of the enjoyments of life, not even with a bottle of wine, or so much as an alehouse: in short they made us understand that the country contained nothing in the smallest degree interesting to them, and that their only wish was to return. We endeavoured to conduct ourselves like good officers; but though we set them an example of perfect sobriety, and shared with them the same bread and dried meat, as well as the same trouble and hardships, it was impossible to recal them to good humour; nor could they ever forget that they were still
about

about four hundred English miles from the last stage of our intended progress in the North.

Our arrival at Kengis, however, conciliated them a little. We met here an inspector of the mines, who received us with much civility, and supplied us with a plentiful board and lodging. The object of this gentleman's residence in this country was to encourage and promote the erection of founderies, of which he had conceived the most sanguine hopes, but which had been abandoned and resumed at different times, according to the prospects of the adventurers. He had invited settlers from the North, formed a species of colony, opened a new branch of traffic, and within these few years had benefited this part of Lapland by the produce of the mines. He lived here happily enough, having, at a considerable expence, been able to procure himself all the conveniencies of life. He had turned some land in the vicinity of his house into meadow ground, and planted an eminence hard by with Italian poplars, which seemed astonished to find themselves in those hyperborean regions. When Maupertuis passed by Kengis on his way to the *heart of Lapland*, in order to visit a stone with some perhaps accidental impression upon it, which he chuses to denominate the most ancient inscription in the universe, there seems to have been no inspector of founderies here, as he then lived at the house of a clergyman. He calls Kengis a miserable place.* We were not tempted to visit this monument; the people of the country seemed to have no tradition concerning it, nor did our curiosity lie greatly

* See Maupertuis's Travels, from page 179 to 209.

in this department: besides, we were persuaded that Maupertuis had, from a sort of ostentation, bestowed an importance on an object which it was not worth the trouble of going to see. The Russians had penetrated as far as Kengis.

In the course of this journey we collected the following plants in flower :

<i>Cærastrum viscosum</i>	<i>Pinguicula vulgaris</i>
<i>Cærastrum alpinum</i>	<i>Myrica gale</i>

Among the insects were the following :

<i>Corambyx mordax</i>	<i>Leptura interrogationis</i> *
<i>Corambyx inquisitor</i>	<i>Cantharis pectinicornis</i>
<i>Chrysomela quadripunctata</i>	<i>Papilio antiopa</i>
<i>Chrysomela coccinea</i>	<i>Cicindela reparia</i>
<i>Chrysomela Lapponica</i>	<i>Silpha atrata</i>
<i>Chrysomela ænea</i>	<i>Tineæ variæ</i>

* The *leptura* is very common in this country, and generally lies concealed in the corol of the *Trollius Europæus*, Linn. Almost each flower had a *leptura*, and often two, in the attitude of generation.

CHAPTER XXX.

Stay at Kengis—Entertainment given by the Inspector—The Bear-Dance a very fatiguing sort of Amusement—Visit from some young Women of the Neighbourhood; among them one, a Native of Kollare, of a surprising Degree of bodily Strength—Separation of the Travellers—The Author and another Gentleman alone proceed Northward—Geographical Notice on the River Tornå.

THE inspector of the founderies at Kengis spared no expence that could contribute to render our stay at this place agreeable to us. He thought nothing in his house too costly for our entertainment: he assembled the peasants to shew us their dancing and the genius of their music; and on Sunday he treated our party with punch and liqueurs in a handsome little tent, which he had erected on a small eminence under his Italian poplars.

Among the different dances exhibited by the peasants on this occasion, there was one which seemed particularly curious; it is called, in the language of the country, *the bear's-dance*. A peasant rests his hands upon the ground, and at the same time supports himself on his legs, so as to keep his body in a horizontal position, like the bear, or any other animal, when it walks on all fours.

fours. Remaining constantly in the same attitude, he begins to dance, and by his leaps and jumps, studies to keep time with the music, which is extremely gothic, and which the reader will find inserted in the Appendix. The execution of this dance is attended with great labour and fatigue, insomuch that it is very difficult for the peasant to go on with it above three or four minutes, without falling into the most violent perspiration. It is however a sort of exercise which is good for strengthening the muscles of the arms, and therefore highly useful to the natives of this country, whose laborious exertions in ascending the cataracts in summer require very great vigour and muscular power. Address and bodily strength are the qualities in the highest repute among the peasantry in this part of Westrobothnia; and besides this dance, they have other exercises which demand a surprising degree of activity and firmness in their limbs.

While we sat in our tent on the summit of the hill, a number of Finlandish girls, induced by curiosity to see us, surrounded the tent. We soon recommended ourselves to their acquaintance, and invited the handsomest of them to enter the tent; an invitation which they were not shy of accepting. We offered them wine, but they disliked it; punch, but they had no greater relish for it: we ordered them beer, but they could as little drink this. At length we found out that those girls were accustomed to no other beverage than milk and water. There was among them a native of Kollare, who merited a more than ordinary share of our attention, and who immediately attracted our notice by her stature,

ture, her gaiety, and by a sharp and decided manner in her deportment. She had such strength of arms, that when we were disposed to toy with her, and seek perhaps to be a little too familiar, she would repulse us with a blow that forced us back four or five paces. Her limbs were active and agile, she was remarkably tall, and in short would have been a very fine woman, had not a long waist with very short petticoats, disfigured her person. Her face was not extremely delicate, but her features were well formed; her hair chestnut, her eyes lively, and her complexion full of health and vigour. She was dressed entirely in white of rather a fine linen cloth, which she had probably bought at Torneå of some travelling merchant: all her companions were perfectly clean, and every thing upon them was either new or recently washed.

We spent about an hour in the company of these girls, all which time we kept constantly talking without understanding each other: we exchanged many heavy blows, enough to make one half serious; but this is a kind of affectionate caress among peasants in all parts of the world. The girl of Kollare was so strong, and made such impression with her Herculean arm, that she had driven us to a man almost off the field. Our interpreter hinted to us that we must take care how we offended this young woman, as she was to give us lodging at Kollare, a place we must pass on our route. She seemed pleased when she learned that we should be at her house next day, and promised that she would do every thing in her power to have her dwelling comfortable for us at our arrival.

This day, which was Sunday, passed in mirth and festivity. The inspector, to shew the great amiability of his character, gave us a Swedish song and a toast to each glass of punch, and it was in vain to decline filling a bumper. At midnight we quitted this tent to observe, on a more elevated ground, the height of the sun as usual; but on this occasion the company was by no means unanimous; not as to the sun's elevation alone, one person maintaining he saw two, and others, equally confident and inebriated, that they saw no fewer than four. Instead, however, of discussing the merits of the question with intemperate warmth, though held to be a matter of serious importance, we conducted ourselves with more prudence than the learned perhaps might have done on a subject of less magnitude; for we resolved to go to sleep, and adjourn the *subversion* of the planetary system till the next morning. In short, on the night following, at the same hour, we were perfectly agreed both as to the *height and number of suns*.

If Sunday had passed in all the pleasures of convivial enjoyment, Monday, the period fixed for our departure, was so much the more sad and melancholy. Three of our friends took leave of us: Mr. Bellotti, Mr. Julin, and Dr. Deutsch would not, and indeed, for particular reasons, could not, expose themselves to the dangers of our expedition, and chose to return to Torneå and Uleåborg. Our plan of travels received such a severe shock by their departure, as nothing but the most determined resolution could resist. Friendship and the infection of example made us hesitate for some time as to the propriety of persisting in our enterprise;

terprise; but our pride could not digest the humiliating idea of returning to Uleåborg, to the great diversion of our friends, who would never have done rallying us on the subject, or of boasting of their sage counsels, and the truth of their predictions. Colonel Skiöldebrand, with his servant, remained alone with me: his purpose continued unshaken, for his ardour was not inferior to my own. He would not be discouraged by any difficulties in pursuing the object he had proposed to himself; and I was no less decided as to the execution of my project. I must confess that the idea of being the first Italian that had ever reached the most northern point of Europe, was a very powerful incentive to my exertions.

Before quitting Kengis, I shall make a few geographical remarks on the river Torneå, and endeavour to give, in some degree, a clear idea of the nature and course of that river, concerning which there is much confusion and error in all the maps, and even in the Swedish accounts themselves.

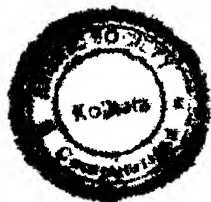
The river Tornea proceeds from a lake called Torneå Träsk, as its source. This lake is situated among the mountains which separate Norwegian from Swedish Lapland. From that lake the river also takes its name. It passes in its course near Kengis, where it forms two cataracts, nearly forty feet high. It then approaches the town of Upper Torneå, twists round the little island of Swenfar, on which the town of Torneå is situated, and last of all it makes the island of Björkön, on which stands the church of Lower Torneå. About a mile below Kengis, the waters of the

river receive a considerable augmentation by their junction with another river, which has its source among a number of lakes and marshes higher up than Enontekis, and bears the name of Muonio, till it loses itself in its union with the Torneå. The latter, enriched by the Muonio, becomes of a very considerable size on its way to the sea, as it is still farther increased by the tributary streams of some rivulets which issue from the lakes and marshes in its vicinity, and at last it empties itself into the gulf of Bothnia.

Near Kengis the banks of this river are considerably steeper than about Upper Torneå, and consist partly of a reddish *felspar* and partly of slates of a blackish colour, whose angles stand edgewise, with an inclination to the south.

The river Torneå is in general subject to three inundations; namely, one in spring, caused by the dissolution of the ice and snow on the mountains; the second in summer, owing to sudden and violent falls of rain; and the third in autumn, before the setting in of the frost. The greatest breadth of this river, when its waters are of a mean height, is nine hundred, and its common breadth five hundred yards: its greatest depth is ten yards, and its lowest shoal from two to five feet. In winter it is frozen in its whole extent, and the thickness of the ice is from five to sometimes eight feet.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



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